Francis A. Thorpe.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONVENTION

OF THE

National Democratic Party,

HELD AT

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA,

SEPTEMBER 2 and 3,

1896.

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Proceedings.

FIRST DAY.—First Session.

Tomlinson Hall,
Wednesday, September 2, 1896.
11:30 O'Clock A. M.

The Convention met pursuant to call.

Hon. John M. Palmer (Chairman of the National Committee): The Convention will be in order.

Gentlemen—I have the honor for a moment to preside over the first National Democratic Convention held in the year 1896. [Great cheering.] The gavel will be in my hand but a moment. We are assembled here for lofty, noble, patriotic purposes. [Great applause.] Our earnest desire is to serve our country [applause], and in the sincerity of that earnest purpose we may appeal to the Judge of all hearts. I tell you now we may appeal to the Great Master, to the Great Governor, and I beg of you now to listen to an invocation from Bishop White, of the diocese of Indiana.

Bishop White invoked the Divine blessing in the following words:

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Savior, the Prince of Peace, give us grace seriously to lay to heart the great dangers the nation is in by our unhappy division. Take away all hatred and prejudice and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord; that so we may be all of one heart and one soul, united in one holy bond of truth and peace, of faith and charity, and may with one mind and one mouth labor for the prosperity and welfare of this great people.

O God of all power and might, of whose only providence Thy people do unto Thee true and laudable service, without whom nothing is strong,

nothing is holy, who hath committed unto the nations the administration of government and made peace and prosperity to depend upon the reign of law and order, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to the people of this land Thy favor and merciful guidance and protection. As at all times, so especially in the determination of the great questions with which we are now confronted, endow us with wisdom by Thy holy spirit to discern clearly between truth and falsehood, honor and dishonor, justice and injustice, harmony and discord; make us as a people to love that which is good, to shun that which is evil.

To all who are in authority over us give Thy especial grace, that they may perceive and know what things they ought to do, and may have grace and power faithfully to fulfill the same. To those who are here assembled as representatives of this great people to deliberate concerning the common welfare, grant Thy grace and guidance. Let nothing be done of strife and vainglory, of passion or prejudice. Let all ignorance, selfishness and self-will be put away, and be pleased, O Lord, to direct and prosper all their consultations to the advancement of Thy glory, the good of Thy church, the safety, honor and welfare of Thy people, that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavors upon the best and surest foundations; that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety may be established among us for all generations.

These and all other necessaries for them, for us and for all mankind, we humbly beg, in the name and mediation of Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Savior.

The grace of our Lord, Jesus Christ, and the love of God and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with us all and evermore. Amen.

THE CALL FOR THE CONVENTION.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER (Senator Palmer): The Secretary of the Committee will now read the call under which this Convention was assembled. We will have the attention of the Convention to the reading of the call.

By the request of the Secretary, Hon. Joseph H. Outhwaite, of Ohio, read the call, as follows:

CALL FOR A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

INDIANAPOLIS, August 7, 1896.

At a meeting of the National Democratic Committee, held at Indianapolis, Ind., on the 7th day of August, 1896, the following call was made for a National Convention of the National Democratic Party [applause], to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President:

To the Democrats of the United States: [Great cheering.]

"A political party has always been defined to be an association of voters to promote the success of political principles held in common. The Democratic party, during its whole history, has been pledged to promote the liberty of the individual, the security of private rights and property and the supremacy of the law. [Great cheering.] It has always insisted upon a safe and stable money for the people's use. [Cheers.] It has insisted upon the maintenance of the financial honor of the nation, as well as upon the preservation inviolate of the institutions established by the Constitution. [Cheers.] These, its principles, were abandoned by the supposed representatives of the party at a national convention recently assembled at Chicago. [Applause.]

"The Democratic party will, therefore, cease to exist unless it be preserved by the voluntary action of such of its members as still adhere to its fundamental principles. [Cheers.] No majority of the members of that convention, however large, had any right or power to surrender those principles. [Cheers.] When they undertook to do so, that assemblage ceased to be a Democratic convention. [Cheers.] The action taken, the irregular proceedings and the platform enunciated by that body were, and are, so utterly and indefensibly revolutionary, and constitute such radical departures from the principles of true Democracy, which should characterize a sound and patriotic administration of our country's affairs, that its results are not entitled to the confidence or support of true Democrats. [Applause.]

"For the first time since national parties were formed there is not before the American people a platform declaring the principles of the Democratic party as recognized and most courageously and consistently administered by Jefferson, Jackson and Cleveland. [Great applause, continuing one minute.] Nor are there nominees for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States pledged to carry those principles into practical effect. The faithful and true Democrats of the United States are determined that their principles shall not be ruthlessly surrendered [applause], nor the people be deprived of an opportunity to vote for candidates in accord therewith. [Applause.] Therefore, the National Democratic Party of the United States, through its regularly constituted committee, hereby calls a national convention of that party for the announcement of its platform and the nomination of candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, and the transaction of such other business as is incidental thereto, to be held at Indianapolis on Wednesday, the 2d day of September, 1896, at 12 o'clock noon, and hereby requests that the members of the party in the several States who believe in sound money [applause] and the preservation of law and order [applause], and who are unalterably opposed to the platform adopted and the candidates nominated at Chicago, will select, in such manner as to them shall seem best, a number of delegates to the same equal to twice the number of electoral votes to which such States are respectively entitled; such delegates shall be duly accredited according to the usages of the Democratic

party. Their credentials shall be forwarded or delivered to the secretary of this committee with all convenient speed, and this committee will make up and announce a roll of the delegates entitled to participate in the preliminary organization of the convention."

[Signed] JOHN M. PALMER, Illinois, Chairman.
JOHN R. WILSON, Indiana, Secretary.
J. M. FALKNER, of Alabama.
JOEL A. SPERRY, of Connecticut.
T. B. NEAL, of Georgia.
EUGENE HAGAN, of Kansas.
D. CAFFERY, of Louisiana.
C. VEY HOLMAN, of Maine.
NATHAN MATTHEWS, JR., of Massachusetts.
CHARLES A. CONRAD, of Montana.
F. W. M. CUTCHEON, of Minnesota.
GORDON WOODBURY, of New Hampshire.
CHARLES TRACEY, of New York.
C. E. S. WOOD, of Oregon.
CHARLES C. MUMFORD, of Rhode Island.
JOHN D. HANTEN, of South Dakota.
M. L. CRAWFORD, of Texas.
JOSEPH BRYAN, of Virginia.
H. C. SIMS, of West Virginia.
E. B. POND, of California.
J. L. GASKINS, of Florida.
L. M. MARTIN, of Iowa.
R. T. TYLER, of Kentucky.
JOHN E. SEMMES, of Maryland.
THOMAS A. WILSON, of Michigan.
L. C. KRAUTHOFF, of Missouri.
EUCLID MARTIN, of Nebraska.
WILLIAM J. CURTIS, of New Jersey.
J. H. OUTHWAITE, of Ohio.
J. C. BULLITT, of Pennsylvania.
T. F. HOLLY, of South Carolina.
J. C. McREYNOLDS, of Tennessee.
W. H. CREAMER, of Vermont.
THOMAS BURKE, of Washington.
E. B. USHER, of Wisconsin.

THE CALL OF THE ROLL.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: Gentlemen of the Convention, the next business in order will be a call of the States in order to ascertain who are present.

THE SECRETARY: Chairmen of the State delegations will please answer "Here," when present, when the name of their State is called.

The responses were as follows:

Alabama—"Present, with a full delegation."

Arkansas—"Present, with a full delegation."

California—"Present."

Colorado—"Present, with a solid delegation of one."

Connecticut—"Present, with a solid delegation."

Delaware—"Present."

Florida—"Present, with a full delegation; overflowing."

Georgia—"Present, with twenty-four delegates."

Idaho—No response.

Illinois—"Present, with a full delegation and some to spare."

Indiana—"Present, with a full delegation."

Iowa—"All present."

Kansas—"A full delegation here."

Kentucky—"A full delegation and alternates beside."

Louisiana—"Present, with a full delegation."

Maine—"Present, with a full delegation."

Maryland—"All here, heart and soul."

Massachusetts—"The commonwealth of Massachusetts has a full delegation of thirty members and various alternates."

Michigan—"A full delegation."

Minnesota—"Minnesota has a delegation of eighteen delegates and nineteen alternates." [Laughter.]

Mississippi—"Present, with a solid, harmonious delegation."

Missouri—"A whole force of delegates and alternates."

Montana—"A unanimous delegation."

Nebraska—"Nebraska is here with a full delegation, and some more back of 'em."

Nevada—No response.

New Hampshire—"Present, with a full delegation."

New Jersey—"Present, with a solid delegation."

New York—The New York delegation, seventy-two in number, arose in a body.

North Carolina—"Here, with a delegation of twelve."

North Dakota—"Present, with a full delegation."

Ohio—"Ohio is here with a full delegation to vote for sound money."

Oregon—"Oregon has a full delegation in favor of honest money, honest men and honest government."

Pennsylvania—"Pennsylvania has a full delegation of sixty-four delegates and many hundred more who would liked to have come."

Rhode Island—"Present, with twenty-seven."

South Carolina—"Present, with a full delegation."

South Dakota—"Five delegates."

Tennessee—[Applause, members rising.] "Tennessee has a full delegation of twenty-four delegates and twenty-four alternates, and more to spare."

Texas—"A full delegation of thirty men."

Vermont—"The eight delegates of Vermont are here."

Virginia—"Virginia has a full delegation."
Washington—"Washington has a full delegation."
West Virginia—"West Virginia is fully represented."
Wisconsin—"Wisconsin is present with twenty-four delegates, and they are all Democrats."

SECRETARY WILSON: That completes the call of the States—41. [Voices: "Call the Territories."]

THE CHAIRMAN: Forty-one States have answered by delegation. [Voices: "Call the Territories."]

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it will be exceedingly proper to call the Territories. The Secretary will call them.

Alaska—[Laughter.] "Alaska is here."
Arizona—"I am here." [Laughter.]
New Mexico—"New Mexico occupies every seat that she is entitled to."
Oklahoma—No response.
Indian Territory—No response.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order, as appears from the printed list I have before me, is remarks by me. [Applause.] The word is silver. Silence is golden. I make no remarks, but I call for a report from the National Committee.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

By the request of the Secretary, Hon. John Brennan, of Wisconsin, read the report of the National Committee as follows:

To the National Convention of the National Democratic Party:

Your National Committee begs to submit the following report:

Pursuant to the call for this Convention, the delegates elected thereto have been reported to the Secretary of the National Committee. From this report it appears that delegates have been selected and are present from forty-one States. Those in which no delegates have been selected are Wyoming, Utah, Idaho and Nevada. In justice to the true Democracy of these States, it should be stated that they are so far distant from the headquarters of the Executive Committee that the time available for correspondence and organization has been relatively so short and the population of said States so widely scattered that it has been impossible to take the necessary steps to form local organizations

and to secure the election of delegates to this Convention. Democrats of the true faith in those States doubtless regret the absence of representation from this Convention as deeply as can the Convention itself.

Although Territories are not mentioned in the call for this Convention, the Democracy of the Territories of Arizona, Alaska and New Mexico have gallantly sent delegations to this Convention. [Applause.]

We recommend that the delegates reported to the Secretary, a list of whom accompanies this report, shall be entitled to participate in the preliminary organization of this Convention, and that those who are present and the alternates for those who are absent, if any, be entitled to cast the full number of votes to which their respective States are entitled under the call for this Convention.

We recommend that until otherwise ordered the rules of the last Democratic National Convention, which was held in 1892 [great applause], shall govern the deliberations of this Convention. [Great applause.]

We recommend that all resolutions affecting the order of business or rules of this Convention or relating to the platform to be enunciated by it be referred to the appropriate committee without being read.

We recommend that after the temporary organization shall have been perfected the roll of the States represented in this Convention be called, first, for the announcement of one member of a Committee on Credentials for each State.

Second, a like member of the Committee on Permanent Organization, Order of Business and Rules.

Third, a like member of the Committee on Resolutions.

Fourth, a Vice-President.

We recommend that the Temporary Secretary and Sergeant-at-Arms be empowered to appoint such assistants as they may deem proper.

We recommend the following temporary officers of this Convention: Temporary Chairman, ex-Governor Roswell P. Flower, of Watertown, N. Y.; Temporary Secretary, John R. Wilson, of the city of Indianapolis; Sergeant-at-Arms, Walter Kessler, of the city of Indianapolis.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

The Presiding Officer: Gentlemen of the Convention, the question is upon the adoption of the report of the committee. Those in favor of the adoption of the report, say aye. The contrary no. The ayes have it. The report of the committee is adopted.

It is now the duty of the Chair to name the gentlemen who will conduct your Temporary President to the chair, Governor Jones, of Alabama, and Mr. George F. Peabody, of New York, will have the kindness to conduct Governor Flower to his place as Temporary Chairman of this Convention.

Governor Flower was conducted to the platform by the gentlemen designated.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER: Gentlemen of the Convention, I have the honor of transferring this gavel to Hon. Roswell P. Flower, of New York, your Temporary Chairman. [Cheers.]

CHAIRMAN FLOWER'S SPEECH.

Upon taking the chair, Mr. Flower said:

Fellow-Democrats of the National Convention, I thank you for this distinguished honor. This gathering is notice to the world that the Democratic Party has not yet surrendered to Populism and anarchy. The true principles of Democracy, expounded by Jefferson and exemplified through a century of national history, are not dead because those principles have been repudiated by a convention calling itself Democratic, but controlled by un-Democratic influences. Those are true Democrats who remain true to the principles of their party and who refuse to be bound by party declarations which betray party faiths and threaten both party and country with disaster.

By our presence here to-day we emphasize the genuine character of our Democracy and demonstrate the patriotic nature of our partisanship. There have been numerous instances in political history where in the name of party loyalty men have justified their non-support of party platforms or candidates, and in too many of such cases has the movement failed because, when analyzed, its inspiring influence was found to be nothing higher than a desire to avenge disappointed ambitions or to overthrow a political organization. No such sordid motive can be charged against this gathering.

No Democrat here sought honors from those who framed the Chicago platform. Every Democrat here has only political humiliation to expect in the event of the success of the Chicago ticket. No Democrat honored here by being made the candidate of this Convention can look forward with any reasonable hope to an election. None of us who help to nominate him can expect to be participants in any distribution of political favors. We are here because we love the Democratic Party [applause], and because we love our country. [Applause.] That is the inspiration which has drawn us together and encourages our action. That is the fact which evidences our sincerity and makes our cause strong with the people.

STANDS BY PRINCIPLE.

For myself, I can say that for over a half century I have been unflinching in my support of Democratic principles, and I do not propose to give them up now, even if I have to bolt my party platform and ticket in order to maintain those principles. I have lived and worked

for my party in a town and county where Democrats were so few that it was only by accident that we could elect even a constable once or twice in a decade.

The chief complaints which my political critics have made against my acts in public life have been that I have been too much of a Democratic partisan—too devoted to the interests of my party. But in no test of partisanship have I been a better friend of the Democratic Party than I feel I am to-day [applause] in joining with those who would save the party from the abyss toward which it has thrown itself.

Dear to me is this Democracy upon whose principles I was reared and for whose success I have labored in season and out. Dear to me are the teachings of those great Democrats, Jefferson, Jackson and Tilden, who, if alive to-day, would stand with us for party and public honor. And because I love my party and my country, I am here to do what I can to shield them from dangerous attack.

The Populistic convention at Chicago did not realize that the aspersions passed by them would in the future add luster to the object of the opprobrium. Long after the festering sore shall have healed, and shall have passed into history as an incident as grotesque as Coxey's march to Washington, there will stand out with the other foremost leaders of Democracy the name of the man they now villify, Grover Cleveland. [Immense applause.]

A voice: "What's the matter with Cleveland?"

Delegate: "He's all right." [Applause.]

The danger of the Chicago platform lies not alone nor chiefly in its declaration for a financial policy which would be ruinous. The danger lies in the revolutionary influences which controlled the convention and animated its platform.

Men may justly differ as to the best scheme of national finance, and may debate their differences without recrimination or without questioning the honesty of motives. But when men, led on by ambitious politicians, their minds fired not by the example of American patriots, but by that of the radicals of the French revolution, overturn party precedents and pack a convention to secure an effective majority, then by aid of that majority raise aloft the incendiary banner of the poor against the rich, attack the integrity of the Supreme Court, threaten the subversion of national institutions and the indirect perversion of constitutional guarantees, incite disrespect to law and authority, suggest and in substance recommend the repudiation of national and private debts, and reject by intended implication the fundamental principle of Democracy that that government governs best which governs least—then it is time not only for Democrats to forsake that motley and un-American gathering, to reject that un-Democratic and un-American enunciation of doctrines, and to join, in such manner as may seem best, with all patriots who cherish their country's honor and wish to protect the welfare of its people. [Applause.]

POPULISTS AT CHICAGO.

I mistake the moral sense of the American people if the action of the Populists at Chicago, reinforced and emphasized by the action of the Populists at St. Louis, has not rekindled the spirit of American patriotism and awakened the American conscience to the national dangers which lurk in the forces and influences behind Bryan and Sewall or Bryan and Watson.

The real issue in this campaign is an issue of patriotism. In many a presidential election has the fight waged fiercely between the advocates of different political doctrines, and the ruin of the country has been freely predicted if either set of doctrines were established as the policy of the government—such predictions being merely the extreme expression of party politics; but in this election the issues around which the battle is waging involve the integrity of our institutions and the sacredness of our national honor, and when men have stirred that deep well of sentiment, ordinary party differences disappear, the moral issue predominates, and all good citizens stand shoulder to shoulder against those who would defile the American name and undermine the walls of her political structure. [Applause.]

Mr. Bryan takes pains to reiterate, in about every second speech, that he stands squarely on the Chicago platform and supports every one of its planks. He has not yet announced his acceptance of all the planks of the Populist platform, but inasmuch as these are only different in degree, and he has been identified with Populism quite as much as with Democracy, it is but fair to assume that he stands on both platforms.

Not quite so radical in his views, perhaps, as Altgeld or Tillman; not quite so frank as Tom Watson, he is nevertheless a fit representative of the revolutionary forces behind him—ambitious, unsteady and unsafe. [Applause.] There is nothing in his career or in his present utterances to encourage the hope that if elected he would rise above his surroundings or stay the hand which threatens to destroy and pervert. [Applause.] An untried man, a demagogue, a word-juggler, he perhaps will represent the restless mob from which he rose, and with characteristic recklessness does not hesitate to appeal to base human passions in order to attract votes. That in this incendiary's role, standing, as he professes to stand, on principles as un-Democratic as those of Herr Most, he should deserve, by any conception of party regularity, the support of true Democrats is past comprehension and explainable only by ignorance of the man and his platform or disloyalty to genuine party faith. No sound conception of party regularity can justify encouragement to social disorder. Not even the honest believer in a silver standard or the most enthusiastic bimetallist can, if he be a patriotic citizen, conscientiously support the forces of political anarchy.

REVOLUTIONARY CLOAK.

Even the advocacy of free silver coinage by Bryan and many of his associates is only a cloak for the spirit of revolution behind it. [Applause.] Every true bimetallist must blush to have his cause dependent

for success upon those who would reorganize the Supreme Court when its decisions do not please a party convention, who would repudiate the national debt if free silver coinage did not accomplish bimetallism, who would attempt to destroy the sanctity of private contracts, who would have the government take and operate the country's railroads and telegraphs, who would restrain the strong arm of the law from the suppression of disorder. [Applause.] Even if I believed that free coinage of silver by the United States independently and alone would, under proper conditions, restore bimetallism, I could not bring myself to intrust so delicate and important an undertaking to men of Bryan's inexperience or associations, and I would suffer forever the alleged evils of a gold standard before I would be a party to contempt for law, to an attack on our highest court and to a subversion of our form of government by loading it down with ungovernmental functions. [Applause.] Before such a spectacle how would the shades of Jefferson, Jackson and Tilden shudder and shrink! [Applause.]

While, as I have said, Mr. Bryan boldly professes to stand on every one of the strange planks of the Chicago platform, he adroitly attempts to divert Democratic attention from the revolutionary spirit which pervades most of that document by confining the larger part of his public utterances to what he calls bimetallism; and he evidently hopes by magnifying the importance of this financial issue and distorting its phases so that it will appear to be the movement of the masses against the classes, to make Democrats forget their dislike of the plainly un-Democratic features of the platform and to persuade them that after all only an economic issue is involved and this should not justify a breaking of party ties. But that kind of tactics should deceive no one. We believe that Mr. Bryan's arguments for free silver are fallacious and demagogic, but we oppose his candidacy not chiefly because he favors free coinage, but because his advocacy of that policy is but a feature of his support of a set of doctrines which we have been taught to regard as the very opposite of Democratic and the support of which demonstrates the unfitness of Bryan and his associates for positions of public trust. [Applause.] Let not this fact escape Democratic attention. Every appeal in the name of party regularity to support the Bryan ticket is an appeal to support the governmental ownership of railroads and telegraphs, to attack the independence of the federal judiciary, to abolish the merit system as a test of fitness for public office, to refuse to uphold the national credit by the issue of bonds when necessary, to scale down the public debt by repudiation, to invite not only the evils which would follow a silver standard, but those which would follow irredeemable paper money, for even purely fiat money seems to be recommended in this Chicago platform. The men who represent such a conglomeration of poor principles and radical notions are not Democrats. [Applause.] They have no claim on Democrats, and all over the land to-day Democrats are rising to overthrow these party fetters which mean slavery, and to stand between the people and the certain injury which the party's rash leaders would inflict upon the nation. [Applause.]

BRYAN'S SPEECHES.

The revolutionary spirit which forced Bryan's nomination is manifested in his speeches now being delivered throughout the country. His conspicuous failure at Madison Square Garden to advance the cause of silver by close argument has induced him to abandon the weapons of the logician and statesman and to employ the arts of the orator. From the rear end of cars he has been flinging out social and political firebrands among the people. He appeals to the base instincts of the ignorant or to the misery of the distressed. He strives to array class against class, to incite employe against employer, to stir up debtor against creditor, to make this a contest of the poor against the rich. May God prevent this incendiary's work! [Applause.] In this broad land it has been our proud boast that the avenues of success have been open to all. The rich to-day were the poor of yesterday. No families of inherited wealth dominate our politics or our society. Before the law all men are equal. The same opportunities do not come to all men; some succeed, many fail, but no barrier to success or position is created by law. Industrial conditions may be affected by unwise laws, and when this is demonstrated we attempt to change them through the opportunity which every man has to register his vote at the polls. But though some men succeed and many fail, this is the lot of life, and no candidate for the presidency has ever dared before to use this fact to arouse man against man and to kindle the fires of social discontent and disorder.

Proud as we have been of America's material prosperity, we have been prouder still of the self-reliant, independent and sensible spirit of her people. When foreign critics have told us that Democracy here would some day prove a failure, that universal suffrage would lead to anarchy, that class-feeling would be engendered which would result in riot or in the confiscation of property, we have laughed and pointed to the sturdy Americanism on our farms, to the influences of our public schools, to the respect for law and order in our cities, to the examples of self-made men in every family, to the educating influences of our press, to the fullness and broadness of our charities, and more than all to the solid patriotism of our people. [Applause.] I believe that we can still depend on these. [Applause.] Bad as the times are, stagnant as industry is, distressed as many homes are for lack of employment, the common sense of the American people will not be deceived by appeals to passion, but will perceive clearly what is the truth, namely, that present conditions are largely caused not by the influences against which Mr. Bryan, in lurid words, declaims, but by fear of the very remedies which he suggests. [Applause.] When this great shadow which he and his associates have created passes off the surface of the financial and industrial world, then confidence will be restored, money will seek investment, factories will be reopened, and employment will be secure. [Applause.] There can be no prosperity without confidence, and Mr. Bryan's plan shatters confidence and portends business failures and panic. These mean more men out of employment, more homes without food and clothing, more misery and distress.

PLEAS FOR SILVER.

All of Mr. Bryan's specious pleas and arguments for silver are based on the assumption that the free coinage of silver by the United States alone would establish and maintain bimetallism—the parity of gold and silver at the exchangeable ratio of 16 to 1. If that assumption is incorrect or ill-founded, each of his arguments falls to the ground and every one of his predictions loses its force. Not one word has he uttered in advocacy of a silver standard. Not one word does he dare utter in behalf of a silver standard. He will declaim by the hour against the evils of gold monometallism, and nearly everything he says on that subject is equally applicable to silver monometallism also. Genuine bimetallism is a Democratic doctrine, but bimetallism can never be attained by the men who dominated the Chicago convention or by the method implied in the Chicago platform. [Applause.] There is reason to doubt whether the forces which controlled that convention ever desired to accomplish bimetallism. The word bimetallism does not appear in the platform. The convention by an overwhelming vote rejected a proposition pledging the government to maintain the parity of the two metals. The disposition of the convention, as indicated by its expressions and its actions, was toward silver monometallism or irredeemable fiat money. As well might the ark of the Covenant have been intrusted to the Philistines as to intrust the cause of bimetallism to the revolutionary horde behind Bryan. [Applause.]

It is not a difficult task to show that under present conditions free coinage of silver by the United States alone would result in silver monometallism. Foolish experiments in that direction have already been tried and caused the loss of a great part of our gold from circulation. Part of it has gone abroad, withdrawn from investment in our industries, and part has been hoarded for the day when it should bring a high premium. Our government can get none except by increasing the national debt and the burden of taxation. About $100,000,000 in gold is in the United States treasury to support the parity, not alone of the $346,000,000 of greenbacks, which was its original function, but the six hundred and twenty-five millions of silver currency which has been issued since. That frail foundation has been trembling since 1890 with the additional weight put upon it. Only by heroic means has the government been able to prop up the immense superstructure. But even the prospect of unlimited silver coinage under present conditions would make that foundation disappear as if in a quicksand, and you and I and every man who has property or wages would find their value changed from a gold to a silver measure. [Applause.]

This would be the certain result of imposing such an additional burden upon the government, but when with that in view we consider the disposition of foreign governments to strengthen their gold reserves and the suspension of free silver coinage in India, which has heretofore been the world's sink for all its surplus silver, but is so no longer, the conclusion is inevitable that we would be reduced to a silver basis, and to a very cheap silver basis at that.

GREAT INDUSTRIAL EVIL.

Such a change of standards, such a readjustment of values, not only in the fear which they would excite, but in the actual injury and injustice they would produce, would be the greatest commercial and industrial evil imaginable. It would mean in the first place the withdrawal of hundreds of millions of foreign capital invested in our industries. Sneer as Mr. Bryan may at our dependence upon foreign gold, the bare fact remains that without it the building of our great railroads, the opening of our great farm areas, the development of our mines, the building up of our industries—with all the stimulus to prosperity which these have given—would have been delayed many years. [Applause.] Foreign gold—to Mr. Bryan's distorted vision and demagogic mind, a species of yellow fever—what is it but capital which gives work and wages to our citizens, adds to the product of our factories, makes necessities out of the former luxuries of life, increases the comforts and conveniences of living, adds to our country's wealth and prosperity, until finally we will be rich enough and prosperous enough to send part of our capital to other less fortunate or advanced nations and perform the same good mission, selfish though it be, for other people? Who would reject it because it comes, as some of it probably does, from the drones of Europe? To what better use can the accumulated wealth of England's aristocracy be put than to build up American industries? [Applause.]

The withdrawal of European capital would still further depress values and encourage panic. So large a proportion of our business is done on credit, and credit is such a slender support, that when credit is attacked it matters not how much money there may be in the country, it will avail nothing to prevent the contraction of loans and the refusal of accommodation. These mean business failures—losses, sacrifices of prices, diminished demand for commodities, closing mills, lack of employment, poverty and distress. Against the progress of this certain series of events no man nor measure can stand. No kind of relief is efficacious except the conviction of the people that the money which measures the exchangeable value of their commodities and services and underlies the structure of their system of credit is sound and stable and will remain so. [Applause.]

CHARACTERISTIC OF POLITICAL REMEDIES.

One characteristic of political remedies administered and recommended by quack political doctors is that they are alleged to cure all diseases. To every man in distress in any part of the country the demonetization of silver is pointed out as the cause of his misery, and the remonetization of silver as his remedy. By reason of perfectly simple causes the prices of wheat and corn and other agricultural products have declined, but this decline is attributed by these political quacks to the demonetization of silver, and the farmer, along with every other man who finds it hard to make both ends meet, is told that by remon-

etizing silver wheat will go to a dollar a bushel and other farm products will rise proportionately. If this were true, rising prices would affect the commodities which a farmer buys, the interest he pays on his debts, the freight rates which determine the cost of getting his products to market, and he would be relatively no better off than before. To expect the farmer to accept so great a delusion is to presume upon his intelligence. Ask the farmers of my State why they are giving up the production of wheat and corn, and they will not tell you it is because of the depreciation of silver. They will point to these great Western prairies and tell you that they cannot compete with these in the growth of the staple cereals. And they have taken to raising others crops which are more profitable and less competitive.

The same tendency is manifest throughout the agricultural world. Not only have thousands of acres of Western lands in America been thrown open to cultivation within recent years, but in Russia, India and the Argentine Republic railroads and enterprise have brought large additional acreage under cultivation and poured millions of additional bushels upon the markets of the world. The same cheapening in the cost of boots and shoes, of hats and coats and other clothing, which has followed excessive production in the manufacture of those articles, has been manifest in the excessive production of agricultural products. It is the old familiar law of supply and demand. In my State of New York hay is selling at $15 per ton; last year it was $10 per ton—do our silver friends atttribute that to the demonetization of silver? [Applause.] They ought to if they wish to be consistent. Silver dollars in the pockets of the mine-owners are of no benefit to Western farmers —what they want is prosperous conditions which will put silver dollars in their own pockets—dollars which, when taken out, will buy just as much as gold dollars. [Applause.]

AS TO PRICES.

However much the prices of agricultural products have declined, they have not declined more rapidly than the necessaries which the farmer buys, nor so rapidly as the freight rates which promote the market for his products. The report of the National Board of Trade shows that the average charge for carrying a ton of freight one mile on thirteen of the most important railroads of the United States has fallen from 3.08 cents in 1865, and 1.81 cents in 1870, to .76 cents in 1893. You will thus see that in 1865 it cost $30 to transfer one ton 1,000 miles and only $7.50 in 1893. [Applause.]

In 1872, according to government reports, the price of transporting one bushel of wheat from Chicago to New York by lake and canal was 24.47 cents; by lake and rail, 28 cents; by all rail, 33½ cents. In 1895, last year, by lake and canal, 4.11 cents; by lake and rail, 6.95 cents; by all rail, 12.17 cents. [Applause.]

No such proportionate reduction has been seen in the price of wheat or corn. The average price of wheat in 1870 was 80 cents per bushel in gold. To-day it is 56 cents—a reduction since 1870 scarcely half as

great as the reduction of freight rates—Mr. Bryan's assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. [Applause.]

The Atlantic cable has produced the same result as regards the rate of interest on money that the opening of new lands, the extension of transportation facilities and excessive production have produced in the prices of wheat and corn. It taps the money supply of the world and brings it to our service.

So long as we pay our debts in the kind of money we borrow, the rate of interest will continue to cheapen for the farmer, merchant, manufacturer and miner, and for those engaged in any other industry in this country. [Applause.]

Our silver friends claim that the gold dollar has gone up to 200, while silver has neither gone up nor down.

I answer that in 1873 the government rate of interest was 6 per cent.; the rate in any of the Western cities was from 1 to 2 per cent. per month, and money was hard to get at that. By this same Atlantic cable, reaching to money in England, Germany and Holland, the rate of interest on our government bonds has been reduced to from 3 to 3½ per cent., and the rate of interest in Western cities does not now exceed from 6 to 8 per cent. per annum, and good mortgages have been made in Chicago at 5 per cent. [Applause.]

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad, the Burlington & Quincy, the Pennsylvania, all had bonds in 1873 bearing from 7 to 10 per cent. interest per annum. Who paid that interest? The farmer when he paid his freight. The rate of interest to-day, with these bonds placed in London and in Europe, is on an average 4 per cent. per annum; so that the man who had gold to loan in this country or in Europe in 1873 could get nearly double the rate of interest per annum that he can get to-day. [Applause.] Is not the value of the gold dollar regulated by the price that you can get per annum for it? If this is the case, then the price of the gold dollar is not 200, as our silver friends claim, but has been reduced by one-half because it will only bring to the owner about one-half of what it did twenty-five years ago. [Applause.] There is a natural reason for this reduction in the price of gold. Why, last year the world produced over $200,000,000 of gold, nearly one-fourth of which was produced in the United States, and the production is steadily increasing year by year. Now this $200,000,000 amounts to $27,000,000 more than all the gold and silver produced in the world in 1873. Why should it not be cheaper? [Applause.]

RATE OF INTEREST.

The rate of interest in every country where they have a solid and fixed standard of money is nearly half of the rate prevailing in any silver country. A good illustration is found in the adjoining States of British Guiana and Venezuela. In British Guiana, where the standard is gold, the rate of interest is from 4 to 6 per cent. per annum, while in Venezuela, a silver country, the rate is from 10 to 12 per cent., and this will follow in every silver country. The reason is plain: When you

loan money under a fixed standard, and agree to pay under the same standard, the lender can afford to loan his money at a cheaper rate than when he loans it in a currency that may depreciate before the return of his money.

A silver standard would work particular injury to wage-earners. The rich and well-to-do can usually take care of themselves. But the man who has a vital interest in every day's wages, whose family depends upon those wages for its bread and meat, is the person first to feel the injury and last to feel any possible benefit from an inflation of the currency. Not only would he for one year, or two years, or perhaps many years, feel the effect of the prostration of industry and business which would at least be the first result of a change to the silver standard, but when that wore away, as it probably would in the course of time, and the full effects of an inflation of the currency under unlimited silver coinage began to be manifested, he would find the prices of food, of clothing, of rents rising, but his wages would remain stationary, for it is an economic fact that in an era of rising prices wages are the last to feel the influence.

So long as steady work is assured, the laborer is much better off under the conditions of falling prices such as we have had for many years, as the cost of production of commodities has been decreased by new inventions and improved methods of manufacture, for the necessities of life and even its luxuries have become cheaper, while by reason of various influences wages have risen. In 1870 the average wages paid to laborers was $302 per year. In 1890 these had increased to $485, more than 50 per cent., while during the same period the prices of commodities had fallen, the silverites tell us, from 25 to 40 per cent. Under the operation of a gold standard, therefore, no matter what its injuries may have been to other classes of citizens, the laborer is at least 75 per cent. better off than he was in 1870. [Applause.] Does he wish to reverse this condition and face lower wages and higher cost of living? I think these facts have only to be presented to the attention of the workingmen to convince them that any grievances which they may be persuaded they have, cannot be cured by the humbug remedies prescribed by Dr. Bryan.

ESPECIALLY AFFECTED.

There are some classes of employes who would be especially affected by a silver standard. I refer particularly to the 800,000 men who get their wages from steam and street surface railroads. Most of the money invested in these enterprises is represented in bonds whose principal and interest are payable in gold. The annual payments required by these obligations of indebtedness are hundreds of millions of dollars. If gold goes to a premium, the holders of these bonds insist that their terms shall be fulfilled, and the interest payable in gold, it means that the railroads have got to raise that amount of gold or the mortgages will be foreclosed and the properties sold. Every railroad employe knows what that means—a cutting down of expenses, disorganization, uncertain employment. If the companies have to pay a hundred cents

premium on gold to satisfy their interest demands, it means doubling their fixed charges, and this in the case of nine railroads out of ten means bankruptcy.

They cannot increase their rate of fares, for that the legislatures will not permit. They cannot exact payment of fares in gold. Therefore, they must repudiate their obligations or cut down wages—they certainly cannot increase wages. Whichever horn of the dilemma they choose, therefore—a repudiation of obligations or a reduction of wages—the employe is no gainer, for even were there no reduction of wages under the free coinage of fifty-cent dollars he ought to receive twice as much wages as he did before, in order to put him on an equality with previous conditions. The purchasing power of his wages, if the rate remained the same, would be cut down one-half.

Against such threatened calamities we have met as Democrats and as patriots to protest. Our purpose is too serious to permit differences on minor matters or personal jealousies to divide our councils or weaken our influence. We have come here as Democrats to exert such influence as we may have among Democrats for the good of our country and the preservation of our party organization for other periods of usefulness. Renouncing as un-Democratic the work of the party organization at Chicago, let us be true to every Democratic instinct at Indianapolis. Let no man say that in this Convention any false note of Democracy was sounded. [Applause.]

We stand for all that should inspire good citizenship—for honest money, enforcement of law and order, respect for authority, the preservation of the national credit, the just payment of debts, the dignity and welfare of labor, the prosperity and fair name of America. United in such a cause, we can go forward with the American flag as our banner and the words of "National Democrats" inscribed on its folds. We know no sectional issue or interest. We stand behind the broad shield of patriotism, and in that sign we shall conquer. [Great and prolonged applause.]

The Chairman: The roll of States will now be called for the announcement, by the chairmen of the several delegations, of members of the Committees on Credentials, on Permanent Organization, Order of Business and Rules, on Resolutions and Honorary Vice-Presidents, as provided in the report of the National Committee. The roll of States will be called first for announcement of members of Committee on Credentials. As each State is called the chairman of the delegation will announce, or send to the Secretary's desk on a piece of paper, the name of the gentleman the delegation has selected to serve as its member of the Committee on Credentials.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of States as follows: Alabama.

THOMAS G. JONES, of Alabama: Mr. President, for member of the Committee on Credentials the Alabama delegation names John C. Eyster.

THE SECRETARY: Arkansas.

S. W. FORDYCE, of Arkansas: Mr. President, the Arkansas delegation announces the name of John M. Taylor as its member of the Committee on Credentials.

THE SECRETARY: California.

CASSIUS CARTER, of California: Mr. President, California announces Thomas T. Falk as her member of the Committee on Credentials.

THE SECRETARY: Colorado.

MR. LOUIS I. EHRICH, of Colorado: Mr. President, I would suggest that the chairman of each delegation, when called upon, announce the choice of his delegation for their member of the Committee on Credentials, their member of the Committee on Permanent Organization, their member of the Committee on Resolutions, and their choice for Vice-President, all at once; so as to avoid the necessity of making four calls.

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be done unless there is objection. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that method will be pursued. The chairman of each delegation, when his State is called, will announce the names of the gentlemen selected by the delegation to represent it on the Committee on Credentials, the Committee on Permanent Organization, the Committee on Platform and their choice for Vice-President. The Secretary will proceed with the call of the roll of the States.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll of States as follows: Alabama.

THOMAS G. JONES, of Alabama: Mr. President, the Alabama delegation has selected the following gentlemen to

serve it on the Committees: A. C. Danner on the Committee on Permanent Organization, John C. Eyster on the Committee on Credentials, Thomas G. Jones on the Committee on Platform, and James Weatherby as Vice-President.

THE SECRETARY: Arkansas.

F. W. FORDYCE, of Arkansas: Mr. President, for its member of the Committee on Credentials, the Arkansas delegation has selected John M. Taylor; as its member of the Committee on Permanent Organization,——.

GEORGE M. DAVIE, of Kentucky: Mr. President, I move that the names be sent up on a slip of paper from each delegation covering all of the Committees and the Vice-President on one piece of paper. It will save us a great deal of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the gentleman from Kentucky mean without calling the roll?

GEORGE M. DAVIE, of Kentucky: It would not be necessary, Mr. President.

JAMES PARKER, of New Jersey: Mr. President, I want to hear the names of the solid Democrats from the different States.

GEORGE M. DAVIE, of Kentucky: Mr. President, they can be read from the Secretary's desk after they are sent up.

GEORGE M. GUNN, of Connecticut: Mr. President, I move that the chairmen of the different delegations forward to the Chairman of this Convention a list of the officers selected by the delegations to represent them in this Convention; and that the list be sent up at any time after the temporary adjournment of this Convention, or before.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the substance of the motion of the gentlemen from Kentucky. That course will be pursued unless there is objection.

GEORGE M. DAVIE, of Kentucky: Mr. President, I think that would be the better way. We can not hear or understand the names as they are given. If they are sent up in

writing they can be read from the Secretary's desk and everybody can hear them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to pursuing the course suggested by the gentleman from Kentucky? The chair hears none, and that course will be pursued. Is a roll call of the States desired? [Cries of "No," "No," "No."]

THE CHAIRMAN (continuing): Delegations will then forward the lists of their officers to the Secretary's desk.

MR. HAMMILL, of Illinois: Mr. President, I desire to offer a motion in reference to another matter, if it is in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Wait until these committees are made up. The Convention will be in order while these names are being sent in.

The list of Committeemen and Vice-Presidents, selected by the several delegations, having been received at the Secretary's desk, the Secretary announced the Standing Committees and Honorary Vice-Presidents as follows:

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Alabama—John C. Foster.
Arkansas—J. N. Taylor.
California—Thomas B. Pond.
Connecticut—Charles S. Canfield.
Colorado—Louis R. Ehrich.
Delaware—J. Parke Postles.
Florida—E. W. Coddington.
Georgia—B. F. Jones.
Illinois—J. T. Hoblitt.
Indiana—S. M. Ford.
Iowa—Henry Vollmer.
Kansas—C. D. Hulett.
Kentucky—O. H. Waddell.
Louisiana—Fergus Kernan.
Maine—R. D. Woodman.
Maryland—Ogden A. Kirtland.
Massachusetts—Godfrey Morse.
Michigan—George S. Rice.
Minnesota—Ernest Schrader.
Mississippi—Walter E. Stokes.
Missouri—S. C. Woodson.
Montana—James T. Sandford.
Nebraska—R. R. MacMullen.
New Hampshire—Wendell Baker.
New Jersey—John B. Green.
New York—James W. Green.
North Carolina—Sol. N. Cone.
North Dakota—E. C. Tourtelot.
Ohio—George E. Seny.
Oregon—W. N. Whiden.
Pennsylvania—John Cadwallader.
Rhode Island—Edmund Walker.
South Carolina—Frank Evans.
South Dakota—William Erwin.
Tennessee—Tully R. Mormick.
Texas—J. T. Trezebant.
Vermont—E. F. Brooks.
Virginia—Goodrich Hatton.
West Virginia—H. C. Simms.
Washington—E. W. Pollock.
Wisconsin—John H. Brennan.
New Mexico—Andrew Johnston.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Alabama— —— D. Tanner.
Arkansas—J. B. Frelock.
California—Warren Olney.
Colorado—Louis R. Ehrich.
Connecticut—Salmon Goodsell.
Delaware—W. M. Ross.
Florida—John L. Inglis.
Georgia—J. H. Merrill.
Illinois—C. H. Williamson.
Indiana—C. A. O. McClelland.
Iowa—S. H. Malory.
Kansas—Edward Carrell.
Kentucky—Rodney Haggard.
Louisiana—E. H. Randolph.
Maine—R. E. Herson.
Maryland—Daniel M. Murray.
Massachusetts—Henry P. Little.
Michigan—Hewlitt C. Rockwell.
Minnesota—E. P. Alexander.
Mississippi—W. N. Bellamy.
Missouri—George Robertson.
Montana—Charles E. Conrad.
Nebraska—R. S. Proudfit.
New Hampshire—Josiah Carpenter.
New Jersey—Thomas P. Curley.
New York—James W. Eaton.
North Carolina—H. E. Fries.
North Dakota—R. B. Blakemore.
Ohio—Michael Ryan.
Oregon—Zera Snow.
Pennsylvania—Pearson Church.
Rhode Island—
South Carolina—Frank Evans.
South Dakota—Joseph Zitka.
Tennessee—Peyton Smith.
Texas—E. S. Conner.
Vermont—John W. Gordon.
Virginia—William V. Wilson, Jr.
Washington—L. W. Nestelle.
West Virginia—L. J. Williams.
Wisconsin—M. C. Meade.
New Mexico—W. E. Dame.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Alabama—Thomas G. Jones.
Arkansas—S. W. Fordyce.
California—John P. Irish.
Colorado—Louis R. Ehrich.
Connecticut—Lewis Sperry.
Delaware—Levi A. Burtelott.
Florida—T. A. Garby.
Georgia—G. R. DeSaussure.
Illinois—James N. Eckels.
Indiana—Emory B. Sellers.
Iowa—W. I. Babb.
Kansas—W. H. Rossington.
Kentucky—George M. Davie.
Louisiana—Edgar H. Farrar.
Maine—C. Vey Holman.
Maryland—Philip D. Laird.
Massachusetts—Henry W. Lamb.
Michigan—Edwin F. Connelly.
Minnesota—Thomas C. Kurtz.
Mississippi—H. M. Street.
Missouri—F. M. Black.
Montana—A. H. Nelson.
Nebraska—Albert Watkins.
New Hampshire—A. C. Batchellor.
New Jersey—Charlton P. Lewis.
New York—Henry A. Richmond.
North Carolina—Lindsay Patterson.
North Dakota—P. R. Fulton.
Ohio—Virgil P. Kline.
Oregon—C. E. S. Wood.
Pennsylvania—George F. Baer.
Rhode Island—William C. Baker.
South Carolina—W. W. Ball.
South Dakota—W. Crofoot.
Tennessee—Edmunds Cooper.
Texas—M. Kleberg.
Vermont—Wells Valentine.
Virginia—Abe Fulkersun.
Washington—W. C. Sharpstein.
West Virginia—Alfred Caldwell.
Wisconsin—William F. Vilas.
New Mexico—W. B. Childers.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Alabama—James Weatherly.
Arkansas—J. A. Reeves.
California—John A. Stanly.
Colorado—Louis R. Ehrich.
Connecticut—H. Holton Wood.
Delaware—J. Parke Postles.
Florida—H. F. Sharon.
Georgia—D. B. Hamilton.
Illinois—Thomas A. Moran.
Indiana—Daniel Noyes.
Iowa—James Eiboeck.
Kansas—Samuel Kimble.
Kentucky—J. M. Atherton.
Louisiana—T. N. Miller.
Maine—G. H. Weeks.
Maryland—J. A. C. Bond.
Massachusetts—Wm. L. Douglass.
Michigan—James S. Upton.
Minnesota—John Ludwig.
Mississippi—Addison Craft.
Missouri—S. M. Kennard.
Montana—Preston H. Leslie.
Nebraska—S. G. Glover.
New Hampshire—Josiah Carpenter.
New Jersey—Otto Crouse.
New York—George J. McGee.
North Carolina—Silas McBee.
North Dakota—D. P. McLaurin.
Ohio—James H. Outhwaite.
Oregon—H. L. Kelly.
Pennsylvania—Thos. D. Hancock.
Rhode Island—Charles C. Nichols.
South Carolina—W. R. Davis.
South Dakota—Thos. H. Campbell.
Tennessee—S. R. Latta.
Texas—W. W. Leake.
Vermont—F. M. Meldon.
Virginia—Joseph Christian.
Washington—J. C. Holbrook.
West Virginia—R. H. Brown.
Wisconsin—J. G. Flanders.
New Mexico—James Boyce.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now announce the place of meeting of the various committees.

THE SECRETARY: The Committee on Credentials will meet at Room 38, Grand Hotel.

[Cries of "when?" "At what hour?"]

THE SECRETARY: Immediately after the adjournment. The Committee on Resolutions will meet in Parlors 14 and 16, Grand Hotel, at the same time, immediately after adjournment. The Committee on Permanent Organization will meet in the Century Club Room, Denison Hotel, at half-after two o'clock this afternoon.

WILLIAM J. CURTIS, of New Jersey: Mr. President, I move now that this Convention take recess until four o'clock this afternoon, at which time the Committee on Permanent Organization will probably be ready to report.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen of the Convention, you have heard the motion. Are you ready for the question? Those in favor of the motion will say "Aye;" those opposed "No.' It seems to be carried. It is carried. The Convention takes recess until four o'clock this afternoon.

FIRST DAY.—SECOND SESSION.

TOMLINSON HALL,
WEDNESDAY, September 2, 1896,
4 O'CLOCK, P. M.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Convention will be in order. The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Mr. John Brennan, of Wisconsin, will now make his report.

MR. BRENNAN: Gentlemen of the Convention, the Committee on Credentials reports as follows:

There are present in this Convention 824 delegates [applause], representing forty-one States and three Territories, a list of which is herewith submitted. We recommend that those present be entitled to the full vote to which their States and Territories shall be respectively entitled.

As to the contest with reference to the delegation of the State of Connecticut, we recommend that the action of the National Committee in seating the delegation returned by the State convention be confirmed. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the report. Are you ready for the question? Those in favor of the report will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." It seems to be carried. It is carried.

MR. C. H. WILLIAMSON, of Illinois: I have the following resolution from the Illinois delegation to offer:

Resolved, That the National Democratic Convention of the United States, now in session, extend an invitation to the Cook County Sound Money Marching Club to seats in this Convention, and the doorkeepers are notified to admit all members of the organization upon exhibiting their respective badges.

I move, sir, the adoption of the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, I will put the question. All in favor of recognizing the sturdy Democracy of Illinois by letting 300 delegates of a club into this Convention, and entitled to seats in this Convention, will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." It seems to be carried. It is carried.

The Committee on Permanent Organization will now report.

DANIEL M. MURRAY, of Maryland: Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Permanent Organization, of which I am one, was delayed a little, and I left the chairman, I suppose, a half or three-quarters of an hour ago writing up the report, and he will doubtless be in in a few minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: While waiting, I am sure it will give this Convention great pleasure to hear Dr. Everett, of Massachusetts.

DR. EVERETT'S SPEECH.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Citizens—I will not limit it to fellow-Democrats; I say fellow-patriots, and fellow-Americans, who love and honor their country. Massachusetts has sent her delegation here to assist and strengthen her sisters of the South and the West in repelling the invasion which has risen in their midst. [Applause.] Massachusetts and our Eastern and Northern States have heard themselves reviled and abused. They were told at Chicago, in that convention conducted by—I don't know what party, but certainly not by the old Democratic party [applause]—they were told that the East and the North were to have no part in the selection of a Democratic candidate or a Democratic platform. We were told that we might stay out in the cold, and that the warm-hearted South and the more progressive West had no use for us. Well, Mr. Chairman, Massachusetts has been out in the cold, in the cold east wind, ever since she was created, and she has managed to hold her own, and to keep to her ancient principles of liberty and honor, whether others swerve from them or not.

I had the honor—I had the very great honor—of being admitted to the councils of that little band of patriots who, on the night of Friday, the 9th of August, in the Auditorium Annex in Chicago, determined that they would not sumbit to the invasion which was directed against the ancient honor and the credit of the whole country. [Applause.] On that occasion, sir, I took the liberty, although a solitary member from Massachusetts, almost a solitary member from New England, to pledge the credit of my ancient State that we would not be deluded by

false brethren nor by robbers, but that we would come to whatever convention the South and West might call to strengthen their hands in this great fight.

We saw, Mr. President, that that invasion was directed against the credit of the country, against the faith of contracts, against personal liberty, against the Supreme Court, against law and order, against the standing of America with her sister nations; and now here we are, sir, nearly sixty strong, on this floor, to stand for our ancient principles. Massachusetts is here for the credit of the country. [Applause.] Massachusetts is here for the payment of debts in full, without scaling and without repudiation. [Applause.] Massachusetts is here for sound money, aye, for that form of sound money that we already have on international agreement—gold. [Applause.] Massachusetts is for gold here on this floor. [Applause.] Why, fellow-citizens, talk about an international agreement in favor of bimetallism! Haven't you got at this moment all the nations of the world whose word is worth anything united for the gold standard, which is the one we have? Massachusetts is here now against all class distinctions. [Applause.]

The Democracy of Massachusetts knows no distinction between the rich and poor. [Applause.] It knows no distinction between the farmer and the manufacturer. It knows no distinction between the man who raises grain and the man who takes it to market. It knows no distinction between the capitalist and the wage-earner. Massachusetts Democracy knows no distinction between the North and the South, the East and the West. [Great applause, continued for one minute and renewed. Cries of "What's the matter with Massachusetts?" and "She's all right."] And, above all, sir, the Democracy of our State, the independents of our State, the sound men of our State, will not stand the insults that have been cast upon the administration of that man who has preserved the credit and the honor of America untainted. We stand by President Cleveland. [Great applause, delegates rising to their feet.]

We are not here pledged to any special candidate or candidates. Alas, Mr. Chairman, two months ago, sixty brief days, Massachusetts might have presented to this Convention a candidate for President that every sound money Democrat—aye, that many Republicans—would have supported [immense cheering], but, sir, that noble heart, that went to Chicago in the attempt to stem the tide of anarchistic invasion, that noble heart broke in agony when he saw the act of the so-called Democrats, and he went home to the shore of the Atlantic to die of grief at the folly of his Democratic countrymen. [Applause.]

Massachusetts also thinks, sir, that she might this day name a candidate for President, one who in the Cabinet of President Cleveland in two high offices has done Massachusetts abundant honor. Massachusetts has a representative in Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet that, when Illinois was attacked with anarchy and socialism, drew the ancient sword of the law and waved it in defense of peace and good order. [Applause.] But, sir, we are not here for any particular candidate. Gentlemen of the South and West, Gentlemen of the Pacific and the center, give us

any two good national men, any two men that the country knows for honor, for distinction, for purity, for worth in public or private life, North or South, civilian or soldier, and Massachusetts will take the candidates of this Convention and do all she can for their support. [Applause.]

We are told that we might do as well by accepting the candidates nominated at St. Louis—I mean the first St. Louis convention. [Laughter.] We are told that for sound money's sake we have nothing to do but go over into that camp. Mr. President, I respectfully decline to admit that all public virtue is concentrated in the Republican party. [Applause.] If it were only for this year, if it were only for this campaign, I might think differently of what we are here to do; but we are not here only for this campaign; we are here for 1900; we are here for the future. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman, there are hundreds and thousands, aye, I might say millions, of young men who are asking for whom they shall vote. There are hundreds and thousands of young men who know nothing of the traditions of the party. They know nothing of Hamilton and Jefferson, nothing of Webster and Calhoun, hardly even of Lincoln.

They want to know what party to join themselves to, that is the progressive party, the party of the day and the hour; and I say this Convention is to be not the last, but the first of a series of conventions. [Applause.] This is to be the first convention of the party of Young America, to which those young men are going to rally eight million strong in a very few years. And so, Mr. Chairman, I thank you infinitely for this chance of speaking to you. We are fighting not merely for the ancient honor of an historical party, not merely against anarchism and Populism, not merely against protection and paternal government, but we are fighting that the United States may stand in the face of her sister nations undimmed in honor and unshaken in credit. [Great applause.]

Ever since the convention at Chicago the issue of free coinage of silver has been the supreme and overshadowing issue of the country. Our late brethren at Chicago, if I may be allowed to use so indelicate an expression, have nominated a candidate of that so-called Democratic party, who himself has declared on frequent occasions that the contest was irreconcilable, and that the battle was to the death, and as a fit culmination to that contest our brethren at Chicago repaired to the camp of the Populists to obtain recruits at the price of inserting in their platform all its nefarious tenets and creeds, and it is fit that to a depreciated and debauched currency should be added an assassinated court and a powerless executive. [Applause.]

THE PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Permanent Organization will now make their report, James W. Eaton, of New York, Chairman.

JAMES W. EATON, of New York: The Committee on Permanent Organization, Rules and Order of Business respectfully reports as follows:

The Committee recommends Senator Donelson Caffery, of Louisiana, for Permanent Chairman of the Convention [applause]; John R. Wilson, of Indiana, for Permanent Secretary, with the power to appoint such assistants as may be necessary; that the present Temporary Sergeant-at-Arms be made Permanent Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention. [Applause.]

The Committee further reports that the rules of the National Democratic Convention of 1892 [applause] and the parliamentary procedure of the Fifty-third Congress be adopted as the rules of this Convention. [Applause.]

The Committee further reports that the order of business be as follows:

1. The report of Committee on Credentials.
2. The report of Committee on Resolutions.
3. The roll-call of States and nomination of Honorary Vice-Presidents and Secretaries of the Convention.
4. Roll-call of States for nomination of National Committeemen.
5. Roll-call of States for nomination and election of candidates for President of the United States.
6. Roll-call of States for nomination of candidates for Vice-President of the United States.

The Committee also recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention that permanent organization of the National Democratic Party, in convention now assembled, be advisable and necessary. [Applause.] That the National Committee of this party shall call future conventions of the party, apportion delegates thereto, provide the time and place for the holding thereof, and generally perform such duties as devolve upon the Committee of a political party."

Mr. Chairman, I now move the adoption of the report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization. Are you ready for the question? Those in favor of the adoption of the report will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." It seems to be carried—is carried. I will appoint the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Bullitt, and the gentleman from Minnesota, Mr. Lawler, to escort the Permanent Chairman to the platform.

Mr. Caffery was escorted to the platform by the gentlemen named.

Mr. Flower: It is my pleasure to introduce your Permanent Chairman, and I now resign the gavel to his hands.

CHAIRMAN CAFFERY'S SPEECH.

Senator Caffery was received with cheers on taking the chair:

I tender this Convention my deepest thanks for the high honor of selecting me to preside over its deliberations. I shall always regard it as the highest ever conferred upon me. [Applause.]

Charged by our party with the function of ministering in its temple of faith and teaching the people its true doctrines, our priests have desecrated its altars, broken its shrines and taught false doctrines to the people. [Applause.] We now enter the sanctuary of the temple and take possession of the ark of the Covenant of our faith, which we will hereafter perpetually guard, protect and defend. We will purify its desecrated altars and rebuild its broken shrines. And, lest the hearts of the people be stolen away from true Democratic faith—the faith of our fathers and founders—we must separate from our brethren who have wrought this evil, and from those who have followed their evil teaching. We cannot follow them in the road they have taken, for their feet are swift to destruction and their way is the way of death. [Applause.] The ties that bound us were as strong as hooks of steel, and we part from them in sorrow.

Loyalty to party discipline and organization has ever been the pride and strength of our party. Loyalty to principle has ever been, and ever will be, its cardinal and leading tenet, paramount to all others, binding in conscience and guiding the action of every true Democrat.

If we do not look into evidence aliunde to show the Michigan frauds and other devious acts and practices designed to pack the convention, the Chicago platform has the seal and impress of our party, and claims its allegiance. But it is a mere simulacrum—a form without the substance of Democracy, and no Democrat is bound by it, nor is it entitled to his fealty. [Applause.] The declarations of that platform are "open, palpable and flagrant" departures from all that Democracy has stood for. They assail the money standard of the country and declare for the inflated and depreciated standard of free silver at 16 to 1.

They assail the right and power of the executive to enforce the law and to protect property under the control and in the custody of the Federal courts in any State in the Union; they attack the integrity of a co-ordinate branch of the government; they declare that the function of issuing paper money is to be exclusively exercised by the government itself; they assail the right of the citizen to contract payment in any legitimate commodity; for they declare that the obligations of the gov-

ernment, for which gold was received, and for the payment of which in the same coin the national faith is pledged, may be paid in a depreciated coin. And we declare that each and all of these attacks and declarations are un-Democratic. [Applause.] They are an assault upon the Constitution, the time-honored principles of the Democratic party, and the distinguished patriot and statesman who has twice led it to the only victories it has achieved in thirty-six years. [Great applause.]

THE ISHMAEL OF PLATFORMS.

It is the Ishmael of platforms. It raises its hand against some of the principles of both parties, and nearly all the principles of the Democratic party. It is begotten of the unhallowed union between Democracy, Populism and anarchy. And that the Scriptures may be fulfilled, "it will be a fugitive and a wanderer on the face of the earth." [Applause.]

We hold that no argument is needed to show the revolutionary and anarchistic character of the doctrine that the laws cannot be enforced in a State to protect property which is in the jurisdiction of Federal courts, or to protect the United States mails, or that the Supreme Court ought to be reorganized; or that the national honor should be stained or the national faith violated; or that the freedom of private contract ought to be limited; or that the function of issuing paper money ought to be exclusively exercised by the Federal government. We hold that the theory of free coinage of silver with gold at the ratio of 16 to 1 admits of argument, but we hold that the weight of authority, the strength of reasoning and the facts of history all point to its fallacy and the ruinous consequences of its adoption. We hold that it will rob the poor man of his wage and the rich man of his wealth, the widow of her savings, the child of his patrimony, the soldier of his pension, the industrious of his toil and the inventor of the reward of his genius. [Applause.] We hold that it will demoralize and seriously disturb the immense trade and commerce of the Republic, and drive the country to a discredited, depreciated and depreciating standard; smite our finances as with a palsy and trade with a blight. We hold that the Nation's credit will fall prostrate, its obligations will be dishonored, and its unsullied character will be stained with fraud and deceit.

We claim that these averments are true, established by historical fact, by unanswerable reason, the opinions of the most distinguished political economists and the common sense and common honesty of the largest portion of our fellow-citizens.

The credulity and cupidity of some of our good citizens have been played upon and aroused by artful fanatics and cunning demagogues. There are, however, and candor will compel the admission from any fair-minded man, many honest, respectable, patriotic and intelligent men who cling with all the strength of conviction to the specious, but unsound, theory of bimetallism at 16 to 1. If their theory is denounced as false and pernicious, no imputation is cast upon their character, nor any slur upon their intelligence.

The free coinage of silver is, and has been since Mr. Cleveland's inauguration, the supreme, overshadowing issue before the country. Upon that issue the President and a majority of his party took opposite sides. In consequence, he has been powerless to effect financial reform and secure immunity from gold-raiding on the treasury.

Since the inception of the struggle for free silver, no compromise has been possible. Our brethren knew that the battle was on to the death. The nominee of the so-called Democratic party has, on several occasions, proclaimed the irreconcilable nature of the conflict. It is a fitting culmination of such a contest for our brethren to obtain allies from Populism at the price of incorporating its nefarious doctrines in their platform and attempting to pass them off as genuine Democracy. It was fit that to a degraded and depreciated currency should be added an assassinated judiciary and a powerless executive.

ARE NOT TRAITORS.

Fellow-citizens, we are not traitors to our party. [Applause.] We are in the house of our fathers. [Applause.] We cannot be driven from it. We will defend the honor of our country and the integrity of our principles as long as life endures. We can neither be ousted of our political heritage nor forced into the ranks of our old-time adversary. We intend to preserve intact, unimpaired and unsullied, by and through the organization which we perfect to-day, the Democracy of Jefferson, Jackson, Benton and Cleveland. [Applause.] We intend to furnish a refuge and an abiding place for such of our brethren as, shocked and grieved at the betrayal of their principles at Chicago, are inclined to go to the Republican camp.

The principles of Democracy are imperishable. [Applause.] They are antagonistic to the paternalism of the Republican and the Populist, the destructiveness of the anarchist and the vagaries of the inflationist and repudiator. Byron wrote: "While the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand, and while Rome stands, the world." We say: "While Democracy lasts, the Republic shall stand [applause], and while the Republic stands—human liberty." [Applause.]

For a season our party may stray after false doctrines and flounder amid quagmires, until the beacon light of truth breaks upon it. It will rise from every fall, like Antaeos of old, and "e'en in its ashes will live its wonted fires." [Applause.] If, in the decree of fate, our party must perish, let no historian write such epitaph on its tomb as this: "Came to an untimely end from swallowing political and financial poison," [laughter] but rather let this epitaph be written over its honored grave, dug amid the ruins of the Capitol: "It did not survive the loss of liberty, the destruction of the Republic, and the decay of public and private morals." [Applause.]

We are the propagandists of no new creed. We are the upholders of the old. We appeal from Democracy drunk with delusion to Democracy sobered by reason. [Applause.] With an abiding faith in the intelligence and honesty of our people, we lay before them and the

world the reasons that prompt us to unfurl the old flag of Democracy that has floated over many a triumph and many a defeat and never yet soiled by repudiation or stained by dishonor.

We deem it wise to pursue an aggressive rather than a negative policy; to be Achilles dragging Hector around the walls of Troy rather than Achilles sulking in his tent. We propose to make a funeral pyre of the cadavers of Populism and anarchy. We propose to drag behind our triumphant chariot wheels, in defeat and disgrace, around the national Capitol, the dead Frankenstein personifying their pernicious creed and their turbulent fanaticism.

We cannot make bed-fellows, even in a night of furious storm and thick darkness, of our life-long antagonists. We cannot, even to escape as great evils as are the necessary result of the success of the Chicago platform, be the executioners of our loved and venerated creed. We cannot, even by implication, be held to the false theory that the people can be made rich by taxation, nor to the theory that the Feredal power and treasury can or ought to be used to impair the autonomy of the States, on one hand, and on the other to dispense largess to favored classes. The election of McKinley, or of Bryan, with our support, would mean the destruction of our whole party for a generation. For, when our people recover from the debauch of Populism and anarchy, they will discard the men who have led their orgy. [Applause.] If we go to McKinley, those men will be the recognized exponents of Democracy. When the fumes of the debauch are dissipated and sober reason resumes her sway, our flock will turn toward its fold only to find it destroyed. We, therefore, stand fast. [Applause.] We sound a bugle call throughout the land for all Democrats to rally for the support of government and law, for the honor of their country, and for the maintenance and preservation of their creed, its memories and its glories. If not heeded now, it will be in the near future. And then those clouds which lowered over our political fortunes and darkened our councils will take flight; those opposed eyes which lately met in party conflict will be turned all one way, and a united and triumphant Democracy will march on to victory under the ægis of the Constitution and under the precepts of the apostles of our faith. [Great applause.]

[Calls for "Irish," "Irish," "Irish."]

The Chairman: The Chair recognizes Hon. John P. Irish, of California.

Mr. John P. Irish, of California:

Mr. Chairman, my fellow-citizens of the Republic, in this Convention there lurks no sinister motive, and here there hides no covert and diseased ambition. [Applause.] The spot chosen for this Convention is full of memories that apply to the conditions under which it has met. A generation ago there met in the city of Indianapolis a Democratic convention—a Democratic convention to make a platform, name

its chosen candidates and organize a fight that had in it no hope of victory. Therefore, the purpose of that convention was solely the re-declaration of the principles of this historic party.

And that Democratic gathering met under such circumstances and for such high purposes, organized, sat and deliberated, though there were trained upon it batteries of shotted cannon, though there hung over it the awful shadow of physical extermination by artillery. But nothing in the terrifying circumstances that threatened it, nor in the hopelessness of its cause, deterred the gallant, old, time-honored and tried Democracy of the commonwealth of Indiana from declaring the full counsel of God, affirming its principles, and going to its fellow-citizens upon their declaration. [Applause.]

We are met here to-day delivered from the threat of physical extermination, but we are met here under the threat of an extermination of that which is dearer than life. We are met here to defend against a fatal attack on the public credit, the national honor and good name, and the private and personal honesty of the individual. [Applause.] And what are all the materialities of life, what are all the physical things that minister unto men, when honor is lost and national pride and the self-respect of the individual? We are met here to face a crisis more serious in its projected consequences, if those who assail us shall succeed, than any crisis that is to be met by merely physical force.

We are met to oppose the moral force of principle and conviction to those propositions which threaten to undermine all that makes the Republic dear, everything that maintains the independence of the commonwealth, through assailing and assaulting and destroying the independence of the individual citizen who in the mass constitutes the commonwealth. We are met here as the representatives of a party that in times of physical trial and threat has abided by its convictions; and we are here now to oppose those convictions and principles of an organization that has filched its name, that has debauched its principles, that has replaced and supplanted them by a code, by a creed, by a faith, that have been derived from the school in politics to which we have been opposed from the beginning of the division of parties in the Republic. [Applause.]

PRAISE FOR CLEVELAND.

We represent that organization upon those principles which, steadfastly abided by through the civil struggle and after its close finally found advanced to its leadership that magnificent personality, that incarnation of Democratic principle, that everlasting moral principle which must pervade all government made incarnate in the flesh—Grover Cleveland. [Applause.] We represent that organization and those principles which, under his leadership, upon platforms declared, as ours shall be declared, in line with the ancient principles of human liberty, declared by the fathers of the Republic and the founders of our party in three great national contests, won a majority of the popular vote at the polls, and in two of them secured triumph in the electoral

colleges. We represent those principles. And we are here to swear with Jackson "by the eternal" that the moral strength that has come into the marrow and bone of this party by reason of those battles and those victories shall neither be obscured to our countrymen, belittled in history nor submerged under Populism [applause], whether it be declared by the Populist convention at Chicago or the Populist convention at St. Louis, the two conventions of the year, alike in purpose, alike in declarations, alike in the fallacy of their principles and the contemptibility of their vagaries; in fact, the two twin conventions of the year, and not the "Heavenly Twins," either. [Applause.]

We are here to stand for all that has been gained. We are here to stand for that victory over the avarice of the material age which was won when Grover Cleveland smote with his renewing hand the apparently dried-up fountain of unselfishness in this Republic and it became affluent under his touch. [Applause.] We are here to stand by that courageous patriotism manifested in him when he exorcised the evil spirit of sectionalism [applause] which for a generation had hovered over the South, and enabled that equal section of our beloved country to come for the first time after the civil struggle and sit at the national table "above the salt," [applause] permitting every Southern countryman of ours to stand up and say, "I am a man," and turn his forehead to the stars [applause] an equal citizen.

We are here to stand by that plea made for the plain people of the land—that courageous and heroic demand—that Federal taxation should be for public purposes and not for private gain [applause], and that the public taxing power under the Constitution, a burden always upon the citizen, should only be in such weight and volume as might be measured and limited by a government administered with the most scrupulous economy. [Applause.] We are here to denounce, right and left, the enemies of all that we have gained since 1884. We are here to denounce the Republican party for that, by the extravagance of congressional appropriations [applause], it has so enlarged the deficiency of revenue as to form an excuse for a renewal of the pernicious and paternal policy of protection. [Applause.]

POPULISTS OF CHICAGO AND ST. LOUIS.

We are here on the left hand to antagonize, arraign and denounce the Populists of Chicago and St. Louis [applause] for that, by their threat involved in the free coinage of silver and a slump to a financial foundation made up of a depreciated and fluctuating currency, they have so destroyed public confidence and made trade timid as to paralyze the activities of the people of this Republic, to limit trade and reduce consumption to such an extent that the present impost and excise laws passed by Congress do not produce the normal revenue that they would yield if confidence were abroad in the land and trade were brisk and labor employed, if wages were in circulation and prosperity were abroad in the Republic. [Applause.] We arraign, then, these two enemies of the plain people of the Republic as co-conspirators in complementary and reciprocating policies which have produced the con-

dition of which both hypocritical gatherings raised the whiney voice of complaint and accusation. [Applause.] The candidate of one combination standing for an advance of prices by that artifice called protection, and preaching to the people the gospel of the benefit of high prices for the necessaries of life; the other conspirator represented by a candidate for the presidency who is preaching to the people the gospel of high prices to be secured by reducing the purchasing power of their money. [Applause.] Each policy meaning a burden upon the industry of the laborer, upon the profits of enterprise, and upon the avails of investment, one proposing to effect the same purpose by artifice on the right hand by increasing taxation to increase prices, and the other proposing to increase prices by robbing labor of half the purchasing power of the money that it earns. [Applause.]

We stand where Jefferson stood, where Jackson stood, where Cleveland stands [applause], crying to these twin daughters of the Horse Leech, "a plague upon you both!" [Applause.] Out of this hall, illuminated by the memories that stand around us like a cloud of witnesses while we meet, there will go to the Republic a note of inspiration, there will go to the people of this land a restatement of the simple theory of government to which Jefferson, the philosopher of the Revolution, devoted his life, that scheme of government being that the sole study of statesmanship in a free land is the adjustment and alignment of legislation with the irrepealable laws of nature. [Applause.]

The candidate of the Populist daughter of the Horse Leech deals in phrases, and one of them is, "We are compelled to say farewell to those who advocate government by the press and syndicates." Aye, this gentleman, standing himself as the agent, propagandist and commercial traveler [laughter and applause], of a syndicate greedier than a cormorant [a cry "Good"], a syndicate which has gained millions upon millions from the silver mines of the West and of Mexico, a syndicate that stands confessed upon the tongue of its commercial representative, now traveling the country tooting for custom for it [applause], as in the field for the sole and only purpose of advancing the price of its products by making people believe that it will be to their advantage. We are here in antagonism to all this. We are here to say to this agent of the silver syndicate, this commercial traveler of the millionaire miners [applause], we are here to say to him that we stand against his assault upon that branch of the Federal government by our fathers provided to preserve permanency in our institutions. [Applause.]

WHAT THEY OPPOSE.

We are here to say that the Federal judiciary shall not be made the tool and puppet of the syndicate which he represents. We are here to say that, after the way of the fathers, we stand by that written Constitution which is the chart and guide of our liberties and the limitation upon the powers of our government. We are here to say to the American people that that written document, confessed by public writers and the leaders of men in every civilized nation on earth to be the greatest monument to human wisdom and foresight that the world has seen

since the decalogue was written upon the tablets of stone amid the thunders of Mount Sinai—we are here to say to our countrymen, "Be careful; give attention and counsel, that the great and wise charter shall not be carelessly amended."

We are here to say to those who follow the left-hand daughter of the Horse Leech in abusing the Supreme Court for that it has said that the Federal Constitution does not provide for the imposition of an income tax—we are here to say to our countrymen, "An amendment of the Constitution to secure an imposition of an income tax is unnecessary." The Constitution provides three methods of taxation—by impost, by excise, and by direct tax to be levied upon the States in proportion to their population. [Applause.] If it be true that a majority of my countrymen desire that form of taxation, a road thereto is open without making a breach in Federal Constitution. [Applause.] Resort to the imposition of your direct tax, if you will, and then, under our theory of the Constitution, the States being endowed with authority to do all that is not forbidden to them by the Federal charter, may, in distributing that direct tax, consider the ability of their able citizens to pay it in the form of a tax upon their income. [Applause.] It would be well for those men who think that the wise work of the fathers is to be destroyed and a structure in its place rebuilt by boy orators of the Platte [applause]—it would be well for them to renew their respect for what the fathers have done by a study of what that work which they did, permits us to do in the meeting of a situation which may demand a policy of temporary expediency.

Standing for all this, facing with a stout right arm and with a stout left arm these twin supporters of constitutional heresies and policies of oppression, we stand and stand for the rights of the plain people, for the perpetuity of the Republic, for the maintenance of its institutions, for their permanency, and under them for the continued and peaceable prosecution of the enterprises which are suggested and generated in the manly independence and individuality of the citizens of the Republic.

ROBERT BRUCE'S EXAMPLE.

Our position to-day is to be distinguished in the history of the United States. We take principle in our hands, and with that as our sole shield go forth to battle. We go forth to battle beset on all sides by enemies in positive antagonism to each other, but by principle in negative alliance.

When Scotland had suffered long from foreign invasion and from internecine disturbance, until the spirit of Scottish patriotism and sense of country and love of land had almost yielded to years of oppression and ill-fate, there appeared upon the scene the great Scotchman, Robert Bruce, and with his sword, that gleamed with the fire that burned in his heart for his country, he carved out for her a place and a destiny amongst the nations of the world, with one hand driving the foreign foe back across the Scottish border, and with the other, by condemnation

and timely punishment, subduing internal treason; and when Scotland, long enjoying the benefit of the individuality and independence that he had given her, came to mourn by his death-bed, he said: "I made a promise to my God, long years ago, that before I died I would visit the holy sepulcher at Jerusalem, but mortality has stricken me and death hovers over my pillow, and the promise to my God cannot be redeemed. Hear you, William Wallace, when I die, take my heart from my ribs and carry it and lay it on the sepulcher of my Savior and redeem my promise." And Wallace, when the great king lay silent in death, took from his ribs his heart and, inclosing it in a silver casket, gathered around him Scotland's chivalry and started upon the long pilgrimage to the Holy City. On the way, on Spanish soil, encountering the Saracen, the common enemy, and battle being offered, when the crisis of that action at arms came he seized the silver casket that contained the heart of Bruce and, throwing it in the thick of the fight, said, "Scotland, follow!" and the flower of Scottish chivalry followed the heart of Bruce —followed it regardless of consequences, though gathered around that sacred casket death might come to them from the common foe.

So to-day, seizing the casket that contains the principles of the Democratic party, surrendered by enemies in a crisis in the history of our commonwealth, we meet, and, taking that casket which contains the tables of the law, we throw it into the thick of the fray and say to our patriotic country, "Follow, though the flower of the Union shall die in the attempt to win victory." [Applause.]

I was unexpectedly called upon to deliver a message from the far land in which I live. I have delivered it. Let me add only, and then cease, that I bring to you words of cheer from that golden State whose mountains look out upon the peaceful Pacific. We come to assure you that there the fires of the honor-bright Democracy are burning on every mountain peak and lighting the welkin on every plain. [Applause.] My colleagues bring to you a message of cheer and of hope, and when the battle shall be over and the lists made out, it will be seen that California and her younger sisters, Oregon and Washington, have abided by the faith, and if they have not finally extinguished and vanquished one daughter of the Horse Leech, we have left her without a sister. [Great applause, waving of handkerchiefs and cheers for Irish.]

ADJOURNED UNTIL TO-MORROW.

F. W. Lehman, of Missouri: Mr. Chairman, I move that we adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The Chairman: The gentleman from Missouri now moves that the Convention adjourn until 11 o'clock to-morrow morning. All in favor of the motion say "Aye;" contrary "No." The motion is carried and the convention is adjourned until to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

SECOND DAY.—Third Session.

Tomlinson Hall,
Thursday, September 3, 1896.
11:00 O'Clock A. M.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

The Chairman (at 11:35 A. M.): Gentlemen of the Convention, the Chair desires to announce that the time of opening the Convention is delayed for a few moments to ascertain whether or not the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report. The Chair is informed that that committee will report shortly. I beg you, therefore, to have patience for a few moments to see whether or not that committee will bring in its report.

[Cries of "Breckenridge," "Breckenridge," "Breckenridge."]

The Chairman: The Chair recognizes Hon. W. C. P. Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky:

Mr. Chairman and my countrymen from every section of the imperial Republic, I congratulate you upon this Convention. We are passing through a crucial period. In the eloquent speeches that were made last night reference was made by that eloquent, scholarly orator from New Jersey [applause] (Mr. Lewis) concerning the action of the present President of the United States about the Chicago strike. We hardly knew what was the value of that action during those days. The great loss of property, the violation of law, the pathetic struggles of the unemployed laborers, were the things which met our eyes, but underneath them there was a great development of our institutions.

The war showed that we had the most warlike machinery of government that the world had ever seen. In the midst of profound peace a pastoral people, inhabiting thirty States, suddenly found themselves confronted with that terrific problem. Without an organized government, with all its executive, judicial and legislative functions unimpaired, the governments of eleven States, by the mere power of those complex but subtle and powerful institutions which our fathers had formed, put into the field an army larger than their entire adult population, and history will tell of the glorious struggle that that army under that government performed during those four years; and at the

same time the twenty States of the North, nearly bankrupt, with their ships scattered and scarcely with an army, instantly organized the greatest army the world ever saw [applause]; the courts of justice remained open, in the main the private rights of citizens were protected, and out of those four years marched a Republic the most warlike known, with the most warlike machinery of government the world has ever seen. [Applause.]

As it had withstood the trials of that great war, it withstood the greater trials of the reconstruction period. [Applause.] Many things happened of which we may be ashamed, but out of it came a united Republic, without change of government, with all her institutions unimpaired, and with a prospect before us that was as boundless as the horizon of human hope and human liberty. [Applause.]

Then came another strain. Thirty years nearly passed away. Was this machinery of government, that in time of war was so powerful, able in time of peace to preserve public order and compel obedience to the law? Could it, with its peculiar government and its duplex State and general government, could it, without war, without martial law, without the despot on horseback riding into the front, could it compel obedience to the law, preservation of public order, and demonstrate to the world that of all government liberty is indeed the strongest? [Applause.] It was done in such a way that every philosophic thinker now knows that the American government, in war the most warlike, is in peace the most powerful that the world has ever seen. [Applause.]

THE CRUCIAL TEST.

Now, we come to the crucial test of universal suffrage. Can the ballot-box sustain law and order when its decrees are in the hands of an executive made regnant? Are people fit to be trusted with the sovereignty of universal suffrage? We are here to-day, in the name of the true Democracy, the conservative, radical Democracy, that constructs and never destructs [applause], to say yes to those propositions.

And no party name, no party masquerading in our honored name and with our flag, can take from the ballot-box the voice of law or hold liberty and keep anarchy under foot. It is not even a national question, as great as this imperial Republic is. It is an international and a world-wide question. The world has yearned and mankind has prayed for a government that secured for him liberty and peace and gave unto him his rights, and yet gave them to him in the midst of order. The world has tried the experiment of three-fourths democracies like Athens, of all forms of despotism the noblest race of all time in the noblest era of all the world's history. It is trying the noblest experiment of human genius and human hope in our continent. We are, in the midst of all the world the cynosure of all eyes, now trying to work out at the ballot-box the great problem if we indeed form a government that give unto us peace, liberty, law and order.

My fellow-Democrats, we are radical rather than conservative. We are the men who have changed the whole political history of the world.

We have taken this fringe of the Atlantic ocean and in less than one hundred and thirty years we have gone to the Pacific slope. We are colonists, not adventurers. We are what Bacon said, "The noblest of artificers, the builders of empires." We have builded them upon foundations that we believe to be absolutely stable as the granite rocks upon which God has put the great ranges of mountains.

And has it come that in the end of the nineteenth century we are to re-discuss all the problems of the last twenty-five centuries? Are we to have agrarianism, are we to have the vague vagaries of Rienzi and all the follies of Jack Cade to be again presented for disputation and settlement at the bar of American public opinion? [Applause.] Shall the half-educated, blest with the gift of eloquent speech, reopen all the settled problems that statesmanship has put behind it? [Applause.]

DISSENSION AND DISCORD.

The convention at Chicago and the convention at St. Louis, like two unequal parts of one story, of which the introduction is that at Chicago and the story and the conclusion is that at St. Louis, is a story of distraction and dissatisfaction. It is the evangel of hate and of discord; it is an appeal to every dissatisfied citizen, and he who stands upon those two platforms, honestly saying he stands upon one and shirking and dodging the acknowledgment that he believes in the other, is to-day, and has been since his nomination, preaching only dissatisfaction, dissension and discord.

Is it true that in America there are divisions which might be called divisions of classes and masses? Are we not all American citizens, with equal hopes and aspirations? [Applause.] Is it true that we have the beginning of caste, and that we have to organize a Democratic party to wipe out those caste regulations? Is it not true that every boy in America has a fair living chance for everything that life can give when he is frugal, honest, brave and wise? [Applause.] The Democratic party, on the contrary, has been always the preacher of the gospel of fraternity. Our great founder—nay, nay, he was not our founder, our great apostle, Thomas Jefferson—for we were founded whenever the first man felt within his heart that he was free and could look up into the face of God and into the depths of His intellect and weigh what God told him, and decide as a free agent what he would accept or reject. Wherever there is a free man there is a Democratic party. [Applause.]

Our great apostle preached the gospel of universal fraternity, because upon it was based the hope of universal liberty upon which was founded the hope of universal peace. Has it come that in his name, under the pretense of preaching his doctrine, the Democratic party shall preach the doctrine of hate and of discord and of dissension?

If everything in that platform sounded like Democracy, if everything in it had the vernacular of Democracy, I would denounce it, because its result is universal dissatisfaction and discord. [Applause.] It is destructive in every part of it. We have an executive. It con-

demns him for being an executive. [Applause.] We have the law, to be obeyed, and it condemns the law because the officer of the law caused it to be obeyed.

We have the judiciary, and because it is independent, and even if it be erroneous—for I, for one, immodest as it may seem with my knowledge as a lawyer, deem erroneous the last decision of that court on one of the questions—but because we disagree with it, or rather because they disagree with it, they determine to change it in such a way that that great tribunal—and when it is lost, all other tribunals will be lost with it—that that great tribunal shall be subservient to party caucuses, to be a tool of party wishes. [Applause.] You of the North know not the value of an upright judiciary. You don't know what it is to have no hope but an upright court. You don't know what it is to live in the midst of a silent law when there is nothing left but the will of a commander or the mandate of a court. You don't know what a shadow of a great rock to an oppressed people is an upright and able and independent judiciary. [Applause.] We of the South uphold that judiciary because in it we found that there was a hope of the reconquest of all that was lost to which we were entitled, and we put our hope for all the future of an oppressed minority in the independence and courage of an upright judiciary. [Applause.]

With you it is a sentiment. With us it is a living reality, burned into our hearts by the disasters of the past, and, standing in the midst of a reunited Democracy, appealing to it from every part of America, in the name of the entire South I plead for that last refuge of innocence and an oppressed minority, an upright judiciary, to be left sacred from the polluting touch of party and of corruption. [Applause.]

THE MONEY QUESTION.

It is destructive in its assault upon our monetary system. It is not that it is for free silver. That is a mere disguise. If free silver would make silver go up to a par with gold, the leaders of that movement would be the most disappointed lot of men the world ever saw. [Applause.]

I do not question any single man's honesty of purpose. I do not make any personal assault upon anyone, but the power behind the free silver movement is the power for more money and cheaper money and irredeemable money. [Applause.] The Chicago platform bears the same relation to what those gentlemen believe that the rainbow of Niagara Falls does to the clear, bright rays of a noonday sun. It is their desire to destroy our present monetary system, to draw from under it the foundation of gold. I hear of gold being the money of the capitalist. It is not so. Gold is the burden-bearer of civilized industry [applause]; it is the foundation, not the apex, of the temple that industry has raised with the hands of frugality and skill, and when they withdraw it everything tumbles, we know with what disastrous results, into the hole produced by that withdrawal. I, for one, cannot foresee what the result will be, any more than I could foresee what would be the result

of withdrawing the foundation from under the Rookery at Chicago. It might all tumble into that hole; it might tumble out into the street; I know the tumble will take place, and I do not intend living in the Rookery to have it tumble over our heads if I can help it. [Applause.]

I do not intend to discuss the money question to-day before you. It has been discussed so ably by other gentlemen, in one aspect, with such great ability by my honored friend, Governor Flower, yesterday afternoon; in other aspects by others. I desire to add but one thought to the great argument he made about the appreciation of gold. We had a wondrous demonstration of how cheap gold is. The American government came before the American people and offered to buy one hundred millions of gold. Now, interest is the exact test of the value of money, if there be no element of uncertainty. If there be an element of uncertainty, interest goes up, so as to cover the risk, and the universal test of the value of gold is probably the value of the English consol. That has no element of uncertainty about it. But even in America, with this financial panic, with this shadow of free silver, with this doubt of repudiation, the American government came and tendered the purchase of one hundred millions of gold at 4 per cent., and the American people offered to sell five hundred and fifty millions of gold at less than 3½ per cent. [Applause.]

SOME IMPROBABILITIES.

It is utterly impossible to doubt that the cheapest money, in the sense of its willingness to be sold at low prices, that the world ever saw is the gold of to-day. But it will not sell itself to those who openly proclaim that it will not be paid back to the honest men who parted with it. It will not sell itself at any price to those who offer to buy it and who hereafter will return the purchase in depreciated and debased currency. [Applause.] Under those circumstances it will not come out of its hiding place; it will not take part in industrial enterprises until it is sure that the owner of it shall have returned to him that which he paid.

If it were possible, my fellow-countrymen, that to-day a messenger boy of one of these great lightning corporations which send the news to all the world could bring in a dispatch from an absolutely certain source that on to-morrow the silver question would be considered settled, that there would be no dispute over payments, that the American people had determined with absolute certainty to enter upon no devious or doubtful ways, that it intended to put on not a forced and dishonest construction of the words of the statute, but, according to the deliberate and understood terms of the contract, to carry it out and every contract made, what would occur? Your industrial enterprises would be renewed, your wheels of industry would begin to revolve, your bankers would put out money, labor would be employed, wages would be paid, and the country's hearthstones would resound in choral songs to that power that restored American commerce and industry, and confidence in common honesty. [Applause.]

SOME OF THE RESULTS.

Think of it for a moment—just for a moment! What would be the result? We hear of calamities, and there are many of them. We have predicted it—we who did not go into the bargain at Chicago by which the word "only" was stricken out of our tariff plank; but we stand upon the old Democratic doctrine, and we have a tariff for revenue only. We have been predicting this. We said the time would come when dissatisfaction and the fear born of the grievances of American labor, by which some were made rich and some poor, would cause dissatisfaction and harm and fill the country with distrust and distress. What would be the result of that, though? If for one single hour we were absolutely certain that this question was settled and that the gold standard was beyond the danger of attack, no pen of poet, no brush of painter, no rhetoric of orator could paint the renewed confidence that America would have. Like a giant breaking loose from the chains which had bound him, America would rise again in her might. Her ships would once more seek the seas, her flags would be seen everywhere. The labor of seven months, by which we do all that is necessary for twelve, would go for twelve months, and twelve months' wages would be paid to the laborer, and everywhere we would begin to be the creditor nation, instead of the debtor nation of the world. Our debts would not come from abroad to worry and annoy us because of lost confidence in our honesty. Our paper would be like the English pound sterling, the representative of absolute honesty. Like an English pound sterling, it would meet every promise issued anywhere by our nation, and we would be once more the leader of the procession of enormous inventions for the good of the human laborer, and, as at the head of the column of freedom, we would be at the head of the column of artisans. This is what it would mean. This is what we are here to-day to do.

WHAT SILVERITES DID.

It is sometimes urged that you are trying to elect McKinley. My friends, the silver Democrats took that job out of our hands since 1894. [Applause.] We elected a Democratic President on two great Democratic economic principles of freer trade and sound money in 1892, and our free silver friends once began to destroy the Democratic party. I saw in the paper, the other day, that they said they had the scalps of their enemies hanging at their belts. They are mistaken. They have the scalps of their friends hanging at their belts. [Applause.] They rejected sound money, and all New England turned out every Democratic Congressman who had been elected there after thirty years of dispute, making the Democratic party the advocate of honest trade and honest money. They disregarded the admonitions of Cleveland, and a Republican Governor reigns in New York, where we used to have a Democratic Governor. They would not believe that sound money was good doctrine, and Maryland sends a Republican Senator to be the colleague of Arthur P. Gorman, and a Republican Governor is in the White

House at Annapolis. They rejected the teachings of that loveliest of all our American statesmen, the able and scholarly William L. Wilson, and West Virginia sent Stephen Elkins to the Senate of the United States; and they defeated the Democratic party in Ohio, so that a Republican Senator takes the place of a long succession of Democratic Senators in that State, headed by Thurman, Pendleton and others, making so glorious a record. They disavowed the teachings of that extraordinarily lucid and able Carlisle, and we have a Republican Governor in the State of Kentucky. They pardoned the anarchists in the great State of Illinois, and every Democratic Congressman walked the plank at the next election. The magnificent and imperial State of the Mississippi valley, that great and lusty young leader of the new Empire of the West, her honor was trifled with, and Missouri went over to the Republican ranks. There has not been the ghost of a chance to elect a Democratic President since 1894, because of the free silver men, and, therefore, when they charge us that we are trying to elect McKinley, we respectfully suggest that they have done that job for us far more skillfully than we ever could do it. [Applause.] What we have refused to do, what we do intend to refuse to do, is to permit the election of that Chicago ticket upon the pretense that it is a Democratic ticket.

I voted for Horace Greeley, and I am not ashamed of it. It was not a very palatable dose, but the memory of it has become modified in twenty-four years of probation. But I did not vote for him as a Democratic candidate, nor did I pretend that he stood upon a Democratic platform, and I shall not vote for a Populistic candidate on a Populistic platform under pretense that it is Democratic. [Applause.]

That Democratic convention was our agent. We gave it instructions; the Democratic party was its principle. If it had obeyed its instructions it was our duty to ratify. None would have done it more cheerfully than this body. You are men who stand by your contracts, and if your agents had kept your faith and obeyed your instructions, even to your own hurt, you would have been like the man who is spoken of in the Bible, "Him who sweareth to his own hurt and repenteth not;" but when it disobeyed our instructions its action was unauthorized, and we are not bound by it.

It is the duty of a Democratic convention to apply Democratic principles to the solution of the pending issues before the American people. Issues change; one time it may be the tariff, another time sound money, another time the autonomy of the States, another time the public lands, another time the veto power. I care not what it is—the issue changes; the principle to be applied never changes, except in the mode and the manner of its application. That agent of ours undertook, in our name, by virtue of a commission bearing our seal, to apply un-Democratic principles in an un-Democratic solution of those policies, and we disavow the unauthorized act of that disobedient and revolutionary agent. [Applause.] That is the whole question to-day.

It is not our ticket. I have nothing to say against the young man who is now enlightening the people about the policies that ought to control the settlement of financial questions. He is not our nominee.

I have read his speeches with great care. Has anyone gathered from those speeches anything except that sad lesson that wealth goes unequally with men? That to some come prosperous days, and to some come adversity; that in some homes is plenty, and in some other homes want, and that, as a corrolary from that, that those to whom life has been hard ought to unite to destroy that which has been accumulated by those to whom life has been prosperous? Is there any other lesson in all these speeches? Stripped of its verbiage, reduced to plain English, isn't it, 'Here is a great country, the rich abounding in riches, prosperous in many respects; money has been accumulated; the homes upon the Hudson are handsome; the buildings upon the streets of Cleveland are magnificent; the syndicates control great sums; your labor has not given you its true and just share of profits. There is the ballot-box; there the ballot; there the weapon; you the soldier?"

WHAT IS THE LESSON?

What is the lesson? What is the lesson taught by this? Is it to be honest, to be frugal, to be patient? Is it a statesmanlike admonition? Study the question. Is it "Use the ballot-box as the weapon to equalize that which life hath made unequal"? [Applause.] I protest that that isn't Democracy; that is un-Democracy. Our Democracy is the Democracy of the Declaration of Independence. It is the Democracy of the Constitutions of the United States. It is the Democracy of the Presidents that have gone before, and of the one who is still with us. The government shall not support the people; the people must support the government. [Applause.] Our Democracy, based upon the schoolhouse; our Democracy, based upon the true use of the ballot—the ballot not as an engine of destruction, not as an agent of hate, not as an evidence of distinction of classes, not as a weapon of hostility, but as the means by which, through peaceful remedies, wrongs are righted. It takes the place of the bayonet; it takes the place of force; it deals not in strikes, it deals not in anarchy, in bombs, inciting organizations of men to commit violence. But the ballot is the means. It is American. It is an attribute of liberty, not to make discord, but to bring about harmony; not to produce dissension, but to produce that equalization of law before which all men stand equal under a government that has the three departments of an executive that shall make the law regnant, under a judiciary that shall be independent to declare it, under a legislature that shall be impartial, true, in our will power; the executive power to compel the law to be obeyed, just in our law-declaring power, an independent judiciary, impartial in our law-making power—and that is Democracy. And this masquerade in latter days of hate is not Democracy, and does not appeal to American Democrats. [Applause.]

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

Now, my Democratic friends, what are we going to do here to-day? Nominate a ticket, of course. There is not anyone among us that ever came here with any idea of shooting in the air and going through the dress-parade of formulating truths except by the concrete object lesson

of two good men standing upon a good platform [applause]—men who are our exemplars. I care not particularly who they are, whether it be some gentleman who, after a long life in the service of his country in peace and war, would like to take off the armor which we would put upon him to make him leader. [Applause and cries of "Palmer!" "Palmer!"] I can follow cheerfully, enthusiastically, in the lead of that most excellently self-controlled gentleman in his temper who commanded the "iron brigade" in the war [applause] and put the iron of law and order against the debased currency that shall ruin commerce on the other side. I am willing, if it need be, and do it cheerfully, to put at the head of the ticket that farmer-statesman whom I served with in Congress, who presided as your Temporary Chairman yesterday, the fair Flower of New York. [Applause.]

I do not want the questions before us obscured by any other questions. Do not let us make any nomination that shall obscure the questions. Do not let us open any door to our enemies to raise new issues upon us. We are the Democratic party who entered into no bargain that Teller and Sherman made and repudiated. [Applause.] Who doubts that that bargain with Teller and Sherman, by which they gave the Sherman bill to the mine-owner of the West and the McKinley tariff to the manufacturers of the East, was made over again by the Senators now in Congress calling themselves Democratic and the Republican free-silver Senators, by which they gave free silver at St. Louis and Chicago and struck out "only" from our tariff plank? [Applause.]

AN HONEST DOLLAR.

We stand to-day for tariff for revenue only. [Applause.] We are of that Democratic party which knows that the markets of America are not sufficient for the sweat of America, and want to open every market in the world, that our laborers may sell their products wherever they please in all the world, and we want those laborers, when they sell their products, to get dollars for them that are good in any market where they want to buy. [Applause.] And that the American dollar—no bastard dollar at 53 cents on the hundred, but a dollar so good that the American laborer, taking it in his hand as the coined sweat of his hot day's labor, can buy anywhere in the world with that dollar, without discount, what his home people need for it [applause]—and that is sound money. [Applause.] And when this Convention adjourns and we return home, we will win no elections, no States, perhaps, not a single one, probably, will vote for our ticket.

There is in every transaction the element of transitoriness and of permanence. He who sees the battlefield and the victor forgets the questions that were involved in it, and the scaffold of the victim may be the crown that shall hereafter mark the victor. We will be defeated at the polls, but we will save—what? The honor of America [applause], the good name of our people and the Democratic party from ruin. [Applause.]

COLONEL BRECKENRIDGE'S CONCLUSION.

I had an opportunity on a late occasion to state one object of this organization. May I repeat it? It is one that touches us possibly not so much in principle as in affection. Many thousands of these men are our brethren—God bless them! We have nothing to say of them but God speed you in all the affairs of life, even if you go wrong now, and, therefore, we want to do something that will show our affection for them, and we build anew this Democratic home, we repair its broken windows, we put new hinges upon its creaky doors, we make comfortable its numerous rooms, and after November, when these Democratic brethren of ours, led astray by the ignis fatuus of that Populistic light, feel that they are in defeat and sorrow, we will light the electric light of modern civilization, throw open the shutters and the doors, light the fire, so that they may see the rays of the home to which we will invite them at a no long distance, and we will beg them to come and sit by the fireside with us.

We will not tell them of what we have gone through, except, probably, to call the servant and say, "John, take my brother's boots," since evidently he has been through the mud [laughter and applause], and as he looks a little weary, we may turn around and say to somebody, "It is not the season of the year when the aroma of mint comes gently from the side of the rivulet, but, foreseeing this, we have put away in the closet a little," and, "John, bring out the mint and sugar and set out the old Bourbon, the Democracy that is pure and unmixed, beside our brother, and let him feel at home." [Applause.] We will not talk of lives misspent; we will not speak of hopes ruined; we will never mention Chicago once, or, if we do, we will do it by some soft paraphrase like "The City of the Porkpackers," or something of that sort, merely to keep in his mind that he has gotten home.

And then, when the night is far spent, and we take up in the old-fashioned way the little candle in the little candlestick, and start home, as we go up the steps to the home of the sleeper, the chamber where gratitude and affection bring together again the brothers that have been estranged, and when we get into the room and shut the door, we will give our hand to him, without a word, except to say to him: "Brother, the past has been bitter; let it be over; let the morrow be a day when we shall rival each other in our endeavors for a common country, for our beloved party, for the liberty that was our fathers and that we want to give our children—a liberty based upon order, making regnant the law, with just courts for you and me; and when we talk over this hereafter, it shall not be that one was wrong and one was right, but that both have finally reached through different pathways that common road that leads to the glory, to the prosperity and the happiness of a common people through a triumphant Democracy." [Great applause.]

SOME RESOLUTIONS.

MR. GRIFFIN, of New York: Mr. President, I have a resolution which I desire to submit.

THE CHAIRMAN: Under the rules the resolution goes to the Committee on Resolutions without being read. The gentleman may state the nature of the resolution.

MR. GRIFFIN: It is a resolution relating to the coinage question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It will go to the Committee on Platform under the rule.

G. W. OCHS, of Tennessee: Mr. President, I desire to ask unanimous consent to offer a resolution and ask that it be referred to the Committee on Platform. It was for Grover Cleveland to wipe out sectional lines and recognize the South as an integral part of the Union; it remained for the Chicago convention to rekindle the fires of sectional hate through the platform and speeches made there; and it remained for an honest, patriotic son of the Bay State, by words of burning eloquence, to bring about a reunited country. As a representative of the State of Tennessee, and speaking for the entire delegation, we wish to pay a tribute to that son of the Bay State whom we all mourn so deeply. I, therefore, speaking for the entire Tennessee delegation, desire to offer the following resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Tennessee asks unanimous consent to offer a resolution. Is there objection? The Chair hears none and the gentleman from Tennessee may proceed.

G. W. OCHS, of Tennessee: Mr. Chairman, the resolutions I desire to offer are as follows:

Whereas, In the death of Hon. William E. Russell, of Massachusetts, the Democratic party lost one of its most brilliant statesmen, the cause of honest money suffered an irreparable loss, the true patriots of America were bereft of one of their purest and most courageous representatives, and the nation mourns his death as a personal loss to all lovers of good government and pure citizenship; therefore,

Be it resolved, That the National Democratic Convention express its profound grief at his untimely taking offi; be it further

Resolved, That this great loss to our nation and our party be expressed by a rising vote.

Be it further resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the family of the deceased by the Secretary of the Convention.

MR. OCHS: I ask a unanimous consent for the passage of these resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Tennessee asks the unanimous consent for the passage of the resolutions read. Is there objection?

MR. FALKNER, of Alabama: Mr. President, I move that the vote on resolution be taken by a rising vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The resolution itself provides for a rising vote. All in favor of the passage of the resolution will please rise; be seated. Those opposed rise; there are none opposed. The resolutions are adopted.

MR. EVERETT RESPONDS.

MR. BUTLER, of Massachusetts: Mr. President, the delegation of Massachusetts asks that Dr. William Everett be permitted to take the stand and accept from the Convention the resolution just offered.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Everett, of Massachusetts, will come forward.

MR. EVERETT:

Mr. Chairman: There are occasions on which the State of Massachusetts is ready to speak, and to speak with all the force and all the clearness she may, in response to any sentiment coming from the South, or from any other section of the country, which expresses her feelings. But on this occasion, Mr. Chairman, when, by our sister State, always our sister State, of Tennessee, this tribute is paid to the man that we have loved and lost, the delegates of Massachusetts do accept it with the deepest gratitude, and with the most profound appreciation of the feelings of this Convention; but they prefer—for I am speaking for them—having accepted it, to say no more, but to go home, with their hearts too full for utterance, in gratitude at the feeling manifested on this occasion by the voice of Tennessee for the son three times elected the Democratic Governor of Massachusetts, and, whether

he was elected or defeated, always admired, honored and beloved from the hills of Berkshire to the sound of Cape Cod, whom, if he had lived longer, would have been known, loved and honored and set on high in the whole country as he was in his State.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary wishes to make some announcements.

THE SECRETARY: The full list of the National Committee has not been furnished to the Secretary. Some States have not sent in any names, and those that have not done so will please do so immediately. There will be a meeting of the members of the new National Committee upon the adjournment for the first recess at Room 38 of the Grand Hotel.

A VOICE FROM KENTUCKY.

MR. SAVAGE, of Kentucky: I have been requested to read the following telegram from the junior Senator from Kentucky:

"To the Hon. George M. Davie, Kentucky delegation: Give us an unequivocal Democratic platform and an old-time Democratic ticket, and all will be well. WILLIAM LINDSAY."

MR. SAVAGE: With such influential men as Judge Lindsay, William C. P. Breckenridge, Rodney Haggard and the grand old man that is to be the Vice-President nominated by this Convention, there is no more show of Bryan carrying Kentucky than there is of the Blessed Master visiting Chicago. [Great laughter.]

MR. WARNER'S SPEECH.

Ex-Congressman John DeWitt Warner, of New York, who was called to the stand, said:

Mr. Chairman, Fellow-Democrats, Ladies as well as Gentlemen—Strange as it may seem, sir, I have found suddenly come upon me one consolation for being called upon to face an audience which has been so lately instructed and delighted by the orators and statesmen who have addressed you during the last few days, for it is a fact that for the time being all fears concerning the hereafter have been banished from my mind. I trust I may be pardoned if, in answer to the State which has done me so much honor, I say little more than enough to serve as the answer as to why the State of New York and every son of New York

expects to go into this campaign every time he is called upon. We are in this battle in behalf at once of Democracy and honesty, because we believe that Democracy and honesty are one and inseparable. As we have been taught Democracy, it means that on the one hand law shall protect every citizen in making such contract as he of his own free will chooses, and then that Democracy shall compel every citizen to stand by the contract that he thus has made. [Applause.] As we look at it, sir, when a man buys a coat for $10, that man sells $10 for a coat. And just as Democracy defends the right of every man to buy such a coat as he pleases, and to buy it where he pleases, so it defends the right of every Democrat, when he has bargained for dollars, to bargain for such dollars as he pleases, and, having bargained for them, to receive the dollars for which he has bargained. And, sir, however it may be with men of more astute intellects than ours, we have never been able to understand why, if it is un-Democratic to make a man buy a coat that he does not want, it is Democratic to make him contract for dollars that he does not prefer. We have never been able to understand why, if it is honest to give him the right to insist upon the coat that he has bought, it is otherwise than dishonest to permit to be forced upon him the dollars for which he has not contracted.

Again, sir, we believe that government should not interfere, except to carry out the will of the people, and we have been looking carefully into this matter to see who, if anybody, wished intervention in behalf of free coinage, to change the monetary system of the country. For one, sir, I believe that gold is the best standard. But I believe if this country wanted a standard of pig tin it should have it, and no one should stand in its way; but inquire as we have done, we have found not one man throughout the United States who for a moment claims that he wants silver who could not get it. We have found not a man in all the land who for a moment claims that he has had gold forced upon him when he did not want it. We have heard nobody suggest that he was not allowed to make a contract payable in silver if he and the one with whom he made it agreed upon it, and we have not heard of any man, Democrat, Republican or Populist, who has insisted upon making any such contract as that.

DO NOT WANT SILVER.

In other words, we find that the free silver legislation is not asked by those who want silver. They can have all they want without legislation. It is not asked by those who do not want gold. There is nobody who claims to be oppressed. It is asked alone by the few among us who, having contracts payable in gold, wish the aid of law to foist upon somebody else the silver that they want to get rid of. [Applause.] It is bad enough, sir, to wish to compel your fellow-citizens into a course of policy upon which they do not agree in order to carry out a plan in which many are disinterestedly interested; but when it comes to the point of passing legislation in order to foist upon others what you do not want yourselves in order to break contracts which have been made

—that is what the Democracy of New York have never been able to agree to. [Applause.] The point with us is, How is this affecting the laboring men of the country, and we have looked with great interest for an explanation as to how it is going to help them.

There are some things, sir, that they have learned by experience, and this is one: The more the appreciation of the currency in which their wages are paid, the greater the amount of the comforts of life they can purchase with those wages. They appreciate entirely that the cheaper are the necessaries of life the better it is for the workingmen, who have to purchase them with the wages they receive. They have listened carefully to our friends from the West in their suggestion to the farmers that free silver will make meat and bread high and enable the farmers to hire their labor cheaper. They do not propose for one moment to stand in the way of anything that is to benefit the farmer, but before they join with him in this crusade, or before, rather, they join with the men that assume to speak for him, they want to know how it is that it will benefit them to make higher the meat and bread, the food and the raiment they have to buy, and at the same time split in two the wages which are to be paid to them.

WANT BRYAN TO BE HONEST.

They want Mr. Bryan to be honest with them. It may be that wages are too high in this country. We do not think they are. But if they are, and that fact is fairly stated, we are willing to go into a discussion of that question. What we do object to is that those who are attempting to bring about the welfare of others, if it be welfare, at our expense, ask to enlist us in the fight upon the pretense that we are helping ourselves and not them. [Applause.]

But, one word more, sir. We have met throughout the State of New York the suggestion that we were not "regular." That, sir, depends upon what is "regular." We have had a sort of an idea that regularity depended upon loyalty to the principles of the party and obedience to the commission which that party had given to its representatives. [Applause.] And we, sir, have not become convinced that, being the crew of the grand old ship Democracy, we have ceased to be "regular" because pirates have temporarily taken possession of her deck and stolen our flag to float their nefarious purposes. [Applause.] We are pretty stout partisans in New York, sir, but we have not yet got to the point where we can for one moment believe that partisan loyalty is such a principle that in following the vagaries of a party without principle it compels the loyal partisan to be a weather prophet to find out where he is going and a weather cock to keep track of the gales that blow in the party. [Applause.]

For those who have forged the name of Democracy in order to betray its principles we have, sir, nothing but defiance, so long as they are engaged in that work, but forgiveness and reconciliation whenever they are willing to come back and help undo the wrong they have done.

FIGHTING ON BOTH SIDES.

One word more, sir, as to our object here. There are citizens in New York, more of them than I wish there were, many of them of those who have been but lately attracted to Democracy by what they conceive to be their devotion to the weal of our country, who have resolved to vote for Mr. McKinley; but they are not in our delegation, sir, and they are not among the masses whom that delegation represents. We are equally opposed to the legitimate Republicanism that is found in the McKinley camp and the bastard Republicanism that has been foisted into the Democratic house. We have formed a square, and we are fighting on both sides—fighting Bryanism on the one hand, and McKinleyism on the other, and we propose to carry on the double fight until there is only one enemy—and we don't care which it is—in order that we may be able, as a united Democracy, to devote ourselves to cleaning out the other.

There is nothing, sir, more present in our hearts than deep regret if any candidate who has ever borne the name of Democrat goes down in this fight by reason of our weapons. There is nothing but the most poignant regret if anyone who still bears the name of Republican succeeds upon the field on account of the action to which we have been obliged to turn; but, sir, when we get through with this campaign, it is our pledge that, whatever be its result, there shall still be a Democracy in New York which shall uphold the banner, about which the Democrats of New York can rally, and which in New York and for all time to come shall maintain the principles of the Democratic party and bear the mark of the Democratic covenant and keep it from the Philistines, from whatever direction they may come. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Resolutions is not ready to report at this time. The Chair is informed that they will shortly, but, at what precise time, it is unable to state.

A DELEGATE FROM MISSOURI: I move that this Convention take a recess until 2:30 P. M. [Cries of "No."]

MR. LEHMAN'S SPEECH.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is not seconded. The Chair recognizes Mr. Lehman.

MR. LEHMAN:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention—The Democratic faith is simple and it is single. It may be expressed in one article, and that is, equal opportunity for all and special aid to none. The applications of that principle are as various and as manifold as the needs

and the emergencies of government. We are met here because we wish to protect the good faith of the Democratic party of the United States in the applications which it has proposed of that principle during the last twenty years, and upon every one of which the convention at Chicago put the stamp of fraud and of false pretense. We are here because we are not willing to meet with the people of this country and tell them that whatever we professed to them in the years gone by was a lie. [Applause.]

In 1876, under the leadership of Samuel J. Tilden [cheers], applying this Democratic principle to the civil service of this country, we declared that merit should be the sole test of appointment to office.

We renewed that pledge in 1880, and again in 1884, and upon the faith of that we elected Grover Cleveland to the presidency of the United States [applause], he, on his part, accepting that as an honest expression of Democratic purpose, undertook to give it force and effect in his administration of the government. And in 1888 his action was approved by the Democratic convention, and he was commended for having taught, not only by precept, but by example, the purest function of government. We caught inspiration from him in 1892 and declared that public office is a public trust. But now we have given to that principle a wider scope than ever before. Our so-called Democratic convention meets in 1896 and says that this system, to which we have pledged ourselves through twenty years, is a system of life tenure and of oppression of the poor and humble. Acquiescence in the will of the majority when constitutionally expressed in the form of law is the absolute condition of free government. No matter how genuine the grievance, and no matter how just the resentment which prompts to revolt and to resistance of authority, whenever we revolt and that resistance makes itself manifest, the government must maintain its authority by all the force of its people.

THE ONLY WEAPON.

Under a free government we cannot admit the brand or the bullet as weapons of redress. [Applause.] The only weapon that we can admit is that of the ballot,—

> "A weapon that comes down as still
> As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
> But executes a freeman's will
> As lightning does the will of God." [Applause.]

We have declared that the only just purpose of taxation is to minister to the needs of the government economically administered, and that whatever taxation goes beyond that in measure, and whatever taxation is applied to a different purpose, is unjust taxation; and that principle, to which we have been committed through the past twenty years as the most vital and essential to the welfare and prosperity of our people, we relegate to the distant future by the action of the Chicago convention. We cease our protest against the favor which our legislation has shown in years gone by to the iron barons of the Alleghanies, and we now proffer a similar aid and a similar protection to

the silver barons of the Rockies. And why? Because we are told that the gold dollar, which is now the basis of our currency, is too good a dollar; it is too dear a dollar; it buys too much.

On that score we stand, not simply as the representatives of a party—we stand here as the representatives of the homes of this country, and we take our instruction not from party platforms, but from the practices of our housewives. [Applause.] When the good housewife gets the dollar which is the expression of her husband's toil, she, as she goes out shopping, cheapens every article which she wishes to buy. She exhausts all the resources of her ingenuity to transmute and to translate into as much as possible of everything she wants to minister to the comfort, the welfare and the happiness of her family. [Applause.] And I prefer that practice of domestic economy—the instinctive wisdom of the women—to all the political economy that was ever preached by Bryan or by Bland. [Applause.]

ALLIED WITH ENEMIES.

We have been asked to form an alliance with those who have been heretofore and who are now strangers to our faith. It was current for a time in the political history of this country that the Sherman purchasing act of 1890 was passed as a matter of party expediency to relieve a Republican President from the embarrassment of signing a free silver bill, but only recently the truth has come out, and it now appears that the passage of that bill was made a condition by the representatives of the silver States of the passage of the McKinley act of 1890. [Applause.] These men who profess themselves now to be the especial friends of the plain people for the sake of enhancing the product of their mines—not the product of their toil, but something that God in His bounty hath stored away to be of equal benefit to all the people—I say these professing friends of the plain people, in order to enhance the price of the product of their mines, were willing and did consent to the enactment of a bill and impose an additional price upon everything that is used by man, from the slats in his cradle to the tacks in his coffin. [Laughter.] And they have parted company with their brethren of the Republican party because even that party found itself, when it came to meet the people, unable to maintain the bargain that it had made with them.

Our silver friends have had much favor at the hands of this government. They have a representation in the Senate beyond that of any other section of the United States. The State of Nevada, with its 30,000 people, is represented by two Senators. The county in which we hold this Convention would, upon a similar basis, be entitled to a baker's dozen, and if the whole United States were thus represented, you could not crowd the Senators into this hall, though you packed them like sardines. [Applause.] They have received in the price of their product, purchased directly by the United States, a sum more than $150,000,000 in excess of its market price to-day. If there is any power in legislation to establish a ratio between silver and gold, if there is power in the legislation of this country to fix immutably the value of

one thing in relation to another, then I insist that the great Mississippi valley, which has been neglected throughout the hundred years of our history, be given an opportunity, and that we have a law declaring a dollar in gold, and not of silver, to be the price of a bushel of wheat. [Applause.]

IN SOLITARY ARRAY.

We are asked what we expect to do. We stand out in solitary array. We are met by our old friends and associates with reproach; we are met by our ancient enemies with urgent invitation, and both tell us that, standing alone, we can do nothing, and that the logic of our position compels us to the one side or the other, if we would make our action effective. But we answer that success is never the duty of the individual. The duty of every man is to make himself right as his conscience points out the right to him [applause], and if he succeeds in that he can trust that God, in His own good time and His own good way, will crown his cause with victory." [Applause.]

MR. BYNUM CALLED FOR.

THOMAS A. MORAN, of Chicago: Mr. Chairman, there is a gentlemen present in this Convention who has given great labor to make this movement successful. He is an eminent and respected citizen of Indiana, and the delegation from Illinois desires to move that he be invited now to address this Convention. I move that the Convention invite an address from the Hon. William D. Bynum, of Indiana.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the motion of the gentleman from Illinois will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." The motion is carried. The Chair recognizes Mr. Bynum, of Indiana.

MR. BYNUM, of Indiana:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—I assure you that I am unable to command words to express the gratitude I feel at this reception. For more than four weeks I have earnestly labored to bring about this Convention. It has been a work of great anxiety, and therefore of great labor, and when I saw my hopes realized, beyond my expectations, I say to you that a reaction at once set in. When I entered the hall last evening for the first time, and witnessed the proceedings at the mass meeting, I was almost impressed with the conviction that it must be a dream and not a reality. And yet, my friends, it is not strange when we come to think of the situation of the Democratic party

to-day. Four years ago the Democratic party, assembled in Chicago, adopted a platform and placed our standard in the hands of a man who was never to capitulate for terms or to cease to wage battle until victory had been achieved. Under the leadership of Grover Cleveland [cheers], in 1892, upon a Democratic platform, we achieved a victory unparalleled in the history of politics. It is almost impossible to conceive that within the short space of four years, that same party would assemble in the same great city and condemn that administration which it had chosen for enforcing a policy which it had promulgated. With such a transition, it is not surprising that within the short space of one month a few gentlemen of convictions could bring together a full representation of that great party to protest against the treachery of that convention. [Applause.] I am unable to discuss issues upon this occasion; I am not prepared to do so, and even if I were, I am not in a frame of mind or in a condition to do so. I believe that this Convention is not only going to result in the preservation of the Democratic party and its great cardinal principles, but it is going to place it upon a higher plane than it has occupied for the last quarter of a century. [Applause.] We have not, at all times, been honest with the people. We have not, at all times, been honest with ourselves; but I believe that the men who have gathered here are determined that in the future that the Democratic party shall be honest not only with itself, but with the people of the whole country. [Applause.] We realize that the interests of all classes and all sections are too great to be trifled with by platforms that are of doubtful construction. [Applause.] If we accomplish nothing more than to re-establish the principles of the Democratic party, which are and were the outgrowth of our institutions, we shall have accomplished a work that will redound to the welfare of future generations. [Applause.] It has been said that we are not interested in the nomination of a ticket. We shall not have performed our full duty unless we shall nominate standard-bearers representative of the principles we shall enunciate. [Applause.] As said in that magnificent declaration which was issued when the call for this Convention was made, "For the first time in the history of this country since parties were formed, no platform and no candidates are in the field representing Democratic principles." We should, therefore, not only adopt a platform, but should place upon that platform Democrats who stand for true principles, and labor unceasingly, from now until the time the polls close on election day, for their success. [Applause.] Gentlemen of the Convention, I have enlisted in this work from an earnest conviction that the discharge of a patriotic duty requires every citizen to labor to avert what he believes will be a disaster to his country. [Applause.] I am reminded to-day that in this hall, not very long ago, I struggled two hours to secure five minutes to address a so-called Democratic convention in defense of a Democratic administration for maintaining Democratic principles. How the scenes have changed! I did not then despair that the consciences of the true Democrats of this country would be aroused to a realization of the dangers that threatened our party, and I am now gratified that that

realization has been made manifest. [Applause.] I have witnessed the growth of this sentiment in the different States of the Union from day to day, and I can assure you that that sentiment, that earnestness and the courage that is here displayed is taking a deep hold in every section of the country, and you will witness one of the most sincere and earnest campaigns, during the coming contest, that was ever waged in behalf of a great principle.

The Chairman: The Chair will inquire if the Committee on Resolutions is ready to report. I recognize the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Outhwaite.

Mr. Outhwaite: I was informed that the Committee on Resolutions will be ready in five minutes.

The Chairman: I see a member of the committee. I recognize Mr. Eckels.

Mr. Eckels:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—It seems to be a dangerous thing to arise in this Convention. I arose simply to announce that the Committee on Platform had agreed, and that there would soon be presented by the distinguished Senator from the State of Wisconsin a platform which will do credit to this assemblage. No one looking over those who are here gathered would dare assert that the Democratic party does not still live, the champion of the people's rights, the quick avenger of its wrongs, the best custodian of the people's rights. [Applause.] Here are gathered those who are met for conscience's sake. Here are met those who are not struggling for the spoils of office nor moved by pride of public place. [Applause.] Here are men who see the nation's honor sullied by the attacks of those who would make this great party of our love and our affection a hissing and a by-word throughout the length and breadth of this great land of ours. [Applause.] We are here in no unkindly spirit toward anyone. We deprecate the fact that a leadership has taken possession of many of the misguided people of this country, and for selfish purposes are doing them both great financial and great national wrongs. We would extend to those who have been carried off by specious reasoning, by pyrotechnic oratory, by the jingling sound of a metaphor and the elegant expression of a phrase, such a platform and such candidates that he who runs may read the error of his way and find here sufficient of the true Democratic party and sufficient of the true Democratic faith to once again desire to make this his haven of refuge and to here offer his supplication and his blessing to the only true Democratic faith.

If we have accomplished that, this Convention has not been held in vain. If we have pointed out their error, if we have withdrawn attention from Populistic to Democratic doctrines, if we have thrilled again the Democratic party with Democratic thoughts, with Democratic ideas, with Democratic aspirations, we have done sufficient to make a grateful party wish us the blessings which a party can best bestow, and a grateful country render to us the homage that is due to patriotism that has sufficient courage of its convictions to stand up against a wrong and to defiantly assert a right. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of this Convention, a long series of extravagance in public and in private expenditures, undue speculation upon the part of individuals and of corporations, the fostering care of monopolies through unwise tax legislation, the building up of wrong theories of finance by unwise fiscal legislation, the curtailing of credit through the operation of these unwise financial laws, have brought the country to a state of discontent with existing conditions which these men have played upon, and, taking advantage not of the merit of the question involved, but of the passions and the discontents of men, have builded up a party and a faction which under right and normal conditions would not for a single day stand the test of American reason, American common sense or American honesty.

They have built their party upon the false ideas of finance which they are teaching, unworthy of a great and mighty people. They have fostered their growth by discontent, appealing to passion and to prejudice, but thank God who reigns above, there still remains in every nook and corner of this great land of ours sufficient pride of American honesty, sufficient patriotism of American yoeman, sufficient strength of American character to drive them, in the coming election, from the spoils of office and into the Slough of such a Despond that they shall never again rise to bother the American public or make uncertain the question of whether this is a debt-paying nation. [Applause.]

MR. HAMMOND, OF GEORGIA.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair understands that a gentleman from Georgia desires to address the Convention. If so, the Chair invites the gentleman to a seat on the platform.

H. A. HAMMOND, of Georgia:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow-Delegates and Fellow-Democrats—It seems perhaps an appropriate thing in such an assembly as this that we should understand fairly at least the sort of company that we are keeping. From away down near the shores of the Mexican Gulf, and at some cost of convenience and of comfort, and at the sacrifice of many ancient and tender ties, I have journeyed here as one of a goodly company of faithful Democrats, not minded to vex you with any refined theories or abstractions in regard to national finance or

national politics of any sort, but bringing with us our simple, homely creed, coming here to take inspiration from your example, courage from your conduct and confidence from your sympathy. [Applause.] We are a little afraid, Mr. Chairman, to enter into any discussion upon this matter of currency and of coinage.

I say that our creed is a simple and a homely one. A somewhat curious gentleman down there not long since found in his researches upon this subject a lesson which has come home to us—"A false balance is an abomination to the Lord, and a just weight is His delight" [applause], and, pursuing our inquiries a little further, we stumbled upon another matter of instruction which we straightway adopted, and if you are curious to ascertain what it is, by examining the eighth subdivision of the twentieth chapter of the book of Exodus, you will find it there set forth. That is our creed, our Democratic creed. We ask but little addition to be made to this. We are willing to live up to that and by that; and it has taught us that it is unwise, as well as immoral, to clip the coin or to debase the currency or repudiate our contracts.

It has been said on the floor of this hall, it was said not many days ago by the lips of New York's most eloquent Democrat—rather, however, in the way of prognostication—that the Democratic convention forgot the plainest requirements of morality and duty, laid aside all the approved precedents of Democratic practice and procedure, and renounced the fundamental and indispensable principles of Democratic faith. They did do it, as we understand, at Chicago. But all through the Southern savannahs, upon the slopes of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, beneath the shadows of Lookout and Kenesaw, away down beside the rolling waters of the Gulf of Mexico, there still live Democrats approved and true—Democrats who, while denouncing this delinquency and despising this dishonesty, will forever remain faithful and steadfast to the Democratic faith.

Another thing, we are told, did happen. Men, Democrats in name and by profession—indeed, as that eloquent Democrat of New York asserted, Democrats at least wearing the livery of Democrats, clothed in the full power, with the insignia of leadership—did meanly attempt to barter our birthright for a delusive promise of Populist support. But in the name of those same Democrats I assure you that those men in whose behalf I speak can never be seduced from the path of honor, rectitude and virtue by unworthy candidates whose commissions are the outcome of undisguised greed, who, by unreasoning prejudice, gather their motley cohorts to assault and assail the foundations of social order. But when these gentlemen from Massachusetts and Vermont and New York, and all the central States of the West, are organized for the defense of these precious things, I declare to you that these men from the South will answer as they answered with you at the first roll-call, and they will stand by you in this contest at the final onset.

I have very little to say about this matter of free silver. Our teachings lead us in an opposite direction. We learned some time ago—not putting it on very high moral ground—that honesty is the best

policy. Some of our misguided citizens down that way, being of a somewhat impatient temper and an ingenious turn of mind, have gone into the practical business of making free silver, and I am sorry to say that a good many of them, on account of their ingenuity, are now enjoying Federal hospitality in the city of Columbus—a proper place, I think, for all who inherit such abominable heresies and fallacies. [Applause.]

We heard with sorrow, even before we left our distant homes on this pilgrimage, that our resources had been very much foreshortened. We had heard of the shadow that had fallen upon our party. We had heard of that young Russell, of Massachusetts, whose leadership we had looked forward to with so much satisfaction and pride, had gone out from that convention of unfaithful men and taken with him his broken heart to the deep shadows of a Canadian forest.

We learned that a little later, standing, as he verily believed, by the grave of political hopes that might not live again, tired and weary of the unequal struggle, he gave it up and buried with himself in the grave the griefs he could not master. Oh, if we, hearing to-day the words of Democratic warriors, might it not

> "Rouse dead Duncan from his bier,
> But Lycidas is dead, died ere his prime,
> Young Lycidas, a youth, and has not left his peer."

And yet we are not without comfort and without hope, for on yesterday afternoon you and I could see for ourselves that a man had risen on the shores of Massachusetts to take his place—a modern Maccabeus has risen and summoned his brethren around him, and is going forth to assert the honor of the nation's faith and guard from profanation the temples of the forefathers. We will be content with your platform; we will be proud of your leader, be he the battered veteran of a thousand political fights or be he some younger man; it matters not to us so he be a true man, and a brave man, and has lived a life approved by Democratic principles. Let us proceed, then, speedily to the selection of such a man as that. Let us clothe him with the insignia of leadership; let us follow him, and trust him, and obey him, and all will be well with us. Put into his hand the banner of Democratic truth, and bid him fling that banner forth, skyward and seaward, high and wide, proclaiming from its ample folds the faith in which our fathers died. [Applause.]

THE PLATFORM REPORTED.

E. G. GRIFFITH, of New York: Mr. Chairman, I wish to ask whether the Committee on Platform is now ready to report?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is not able to inform the gentleman from New York.

MR. GRIFFITH: I move, sir, a recess of one hour.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Convention has heard the motion of the gentleman from New York. Are you ready for the question? As many as are in favor of taking a recess for one hour will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." The "Noes" seem to have it. The "Noes" have it. The Convention will not take recess.

The Chair is informed that the Committee on Platform is now ready to report and recognizes Hon. William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin for the purpose of presenting the report of that committee. [Applause.]

MR. VILAS, of Wisconsin: Mr. President, I am instructed by the Committee on Resolutions to report the following as a platform of principles for submission to the Convention, and at the conclusion of the report to make the formal motion that it be adopted. [Applause.]

This Convention has assembled to uphold the principles upon which depend the honor and welfare of the American people [applause], in order that Democrats throughout the Union may unite their patriotic efforts to avert disaster from their country and ruin from their party.

The Democratic party is pledged to equal and exact justice to all men of every creed and condition; to the largest freedom of the individual consistent with good government; to the preservation of the Federal government in its constitutional vigor, and to the support of the States in all their just rights [applause]; to economy in the public expenditures; to the maintenance of the public faith and sound money [applause]; and it is opposed to paternalism and all class legislation.

CHICAGO PLATFORM CONDEMNED.

The declarations of the Chicago convention attack individual freedom, the right of private contract, the independence of the judiciary and the authority of the President to enforce Federal laws. They advocate a reckless attempt to increase the price of silver by legislation to the debasement of our monetary standard, and threaten unlimited issues of paper money by the government. They abandon for Republican allies the Democratic cause of tariff reform to court the favor of protectionists to their fiscal heresy.

In view of these and other grave departures from Democratic principles, we cannot support the candidates of that convention nor be bound by its acts. [Applause.] The Democratic party has survived many defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy proclaimed in its name at Chicago. [Applause.]

The conditions, however, which make possible such utterances from a national convention are the direct result of class legislation by the Republican party. [Applause.] It still proclaims, as it has for years, the power and duty of government to raise and maintain prices by law; and it proposes no remedy for existing evils except oppressive and unjust taxation.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

The National Democracy, here reconvened, therefore renews its declaration of faith in Democratic principles, especially as applicable to the conditions of the times.

Taxation, tariff, excise or direct, is rightfully imposed only for public purposes, and not for private gain. [Applause.] Its amount is justly measured by public expenditures, which should be limited by scrupulous economy. The sum derived by the treasury from tariff and excise levies is affected by the state of trade and volume of consumption. The amount required by the treasury is determined by the appropriations made by Congress. The demand of the Republican party for an increase in tariff taxation has its pretext in the deficiency of revenue, which has its causes in the stagnation of trade and reduced consumption, due entirely to the loss of confidence that has followed the Populist threat of free coinage and depreciation of our money and the Republican practice of extravagant appropriations beyond the needs of good government. [Applause.] We arraign and condemn the Populistic conventions of Chicago and St. Louis [applause] for their cooperation with the Republican party in creating these conditions, which are pleaded in justification of a heavy increase of the burdens of the people by a further resort to protection. [Applause.] We, therefore, denounce protection and its ally, free coinage of silver [applause], as schemes for the personal profit of a few at the expense of the masses, and oppose the two parties which stand for these schemes as hostile to the people of the Republic, whose food and shelter, comfort and prosperity are attacked by higher taxes and depreciated money. [Applause.]

TARIFF.

In fine, we reaffirm the historic Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only. [Applause.]

We demand that henceforth modern and liberal policies toward American shipping shall take the place of our imitation of the restricted statutes of the eighteenth century, which were long ago abandoned by every maratime power but the United States, and which, to the nation's humiliation, have driven American capital and enterprise to the use of alien flags and alien crews, have made the stars and stripes an almost unknown emblem in foreign ports, and have virtually extinguished the race of American seamen. We oppose the pretense that discriminating duties will promote shipping; that scheme is an invitation to commercial warfare upon the United States, un-American in the light of our great commercial treaties, offering no gain whatever to American shipping, while greatly increasing ocean freights on our agricultural and manufactured products.

FOR A GOLD STANDARD.

The experience of mankind has shown that by reason of their natural qualities gold is the necessary money of the large affairs of commerce and business, while silver is conveniently adapted to minor transactions, and the most beneficial use of both together can be insured only by the adoption of the former as a standard of monetary measure [applause] and the maintenance of silver at a parity with gold by its limited coinage under suitable safeguards of law. [Applause.] Thus the largest possible enjoyment of both metals is gained with a value universally accepted throughout the world, which constitutes the only practical bimetallic currency [applause], assuring the most stable standard, and especially the best and safest money for all who earn their livelihood by labor or the produce of husbandry. They cannot suffer when paid in the best money known to man [applause], but are the peculiar and most defenseless victims of a debased and fluctuating currency, which offers continual profits to the money-changer at their cost.

Realizing these truths, demonstrated by long public inconvenience and loss, the Democratic party, in the interests of the masses and of equal justice to all, practically established by the legislation of 1834 and 1853 the gold standard of monetary measurement, and likewise entirely divorced the government from banking and currency issues. [Applause.] To this long-established Democratic policy we adhere [applause], and insist upon the maintenance of the gold standard [applause], and of the parity therewith of every dollar issued by the government [applause], and are firmly opposed to the free and unlimited coinage of silver and to the compulsory purchase of silver bullion. [Applause.] But we denounce also the further maintenance of the present costly patchwork system of national paper currency as a constant source of injury and peril. [Applause.]

We assert the necessity of such intelligent currency reform as will confine the government to its legitimate functions, completely separated from the banking business [applause], and afford to all sections of our country a uniform, safe and elastic bank currency under governmental supervision, measured in volume by the needs of business. [Cries of "Good," "Good," and applause.]

THE ADMINISTRATION.

The fidelity, patriotism and courage with which President Cleveland [applause] has fulfilled his great public trust, the high character of his administration, its wisdom and energy in the maintenance of civil order and the enforcement of the laws [applause], its equal regard for the rights of every class and every section, its firm and dignified conduct of foreign affairs [applause], and its sturdy persistence in upholding the credit and honor of the nation, are fully recognized by the Democratic party [applause], and will secure to him a place in history beside the fathers of the Republic.

We also commend the administration for the great progress made in the reform of the public service, and we indorse its effort to extend

the merit system still further. [Applause.] We demand that no backward step be taken, but that the reform be supported and advanced until the un-Democratic spoils system of appointments shall be eradicated. [Applause.]

OTHER AFFAIRS.

We demand strict economy in the appropriations and in the administration of the government.

We favor arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. [Applause.]

We favor a liberal policy of pensions to deserving soldiers and sailors of the United States.

The Supreme Court of the United States was wisely established by the framers of our Constitution as one of the three co-ordinate branches of the government. Its independence and authority to interpret the law of the land, without fear or favor, must be maintained. [Applause.] We condemn all efforts to degrade that tribunal, or impair the confidence and respect which it has deservedly held.

The Democratic party ever has maintained, and ever will maintain, the supremacy of law, the independence of its judicial administration, the inviolability of contract, and the obligations of all good citizens to resist every illegal trust, combination or attempt against the just rights of property and the good order of society [applause], in which are bound up the peace and happiness of our people.

Believing these principles to be essntial to the well-being of the Republic, we submit them to the consideration of the American people. [Great applause, delegates rising to their feet and cheering.]

Mr. President, before such a body as this no argument can be necessary to the full understanding of the propositions and principles set forth in the platform which is proposed for your consideration; and therefore, with due recognition of all the circumstances of the hour, I shall omit any argument or speech for the purpose of advancing its consideration, but will proceed directly to discharge the office which the committee imposed upon me, and move the adoption of these resolutions.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion of the gentleman from Wisconsin. Are you ready for the question? Those in favor of the adoption of the resolution will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." The "Ayes" have it and the resolutions are adopted. [Cheers.]

J. A. Outhwaite, of Ohio: Mr. President, I move the Convention now take recess until half-after three o'clock.

[Cries of "No," "No."]

The motion was not seconded.

W. P. C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky: I move that this Convention do now put upon that most excellent platform a candidate for President and Vice-President, and proceed with the nomination thereof.

The motion was seconded.

The Chairman: The question is on the motion of the gentleman from Kentucky to proceed to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President on the platform just adopted. Are you ready for the question? Those in favor of the motion will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." The "Ayes" seem to have it. The "Ayes" have it. The motion is carried.

Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky: Mr. President, I move that the nominations be made by a call of the States, so that as each State is called the nomination, if the suggestion is acceptable, will be made.

The Chairman: The Chair will inform the gentleman that the rules so provide.

Mr. Breckenridge: I did not know that. I withdraw my motion.

The Chairman: The Secretary will call the roll of the States.

The Secretary: Alabama.

Thomas G. Jones, of Alabama: Mr. President, Alabama yields to Kentucky.

A. J. Carroll, of Kentucky:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention, some weeks ago, when it was problematical as to the proportions this movement would assume, and when even its most enthusiastic advocate could not foretell that in so short a time there would be so great an uprising among the sober, thoughtful people in the Democratic party as to insure the

assembling of so magnificent a convention as this, there were a number of gentlemen outside of Kentucky who believed that there might be difficulty in securing a man of sufficient proportions to lead the fight, and that it might be necessary to draft some one to head a forlorn hope.

In that condition they turned their eyes toward Kentucky, knowing, as we are proud to believe, that in that State they could find men big enough and broad enough and brave enough to lend strength to any movement, and whose courage of conviction and fidelity were such that they would shirk no responsibility nor refuse to take up any burden when their country or their party called, no matter how great the sacrifice to themselves. [Applause.]

They turned to one of Kentucky's sons, whose name is indissolubly linked with that of the Democratic party, and whose fame is not confined to the limits of the continent. That citizen of Kentucky was and had been for some months absent in foreign climes, engaged in a work in which his heart and mind are enlisted—a work of committing to the pages of indelible history the story of the life and deeds of a man, born in Kentucky, whose character furnished one of the imperishable glories of the Republic.

In his retirement among the mountains of Switzerland came to him repeated messages from many of his countrymen telling him that he must put aside his wishes and desires, lay down his pen and take up again the banner of Democracy, which, through all the years of his manhood, he has helped to hold aloft.

Persistently he refused, expressing his earnest and honest desire that the labors and the honors be placed on another's shoulders, but at length, when the impression was made upon his mind that it was in the nature of an urgent duty, he responded in a published interview, in which, after reviewing the personal sacrifice it would entail and reiterating the desire that some one else be chosen, he made the statement that he had never in his life asked anyone to go where he would not go himself, and that for country, party and principle he would make the fight, if no one else could be found to make it, even though it led to the stake. [Applause.]

Since that time this splendid gathering of undaunted Democrats has sprung into being, and there has been found a number of most worthy leaders who will make the fight. In view, therefore, of that, this great cause will not suffer for lack of a general, and in view of the further fact that Kentucky has indorsed for consideration at the hands of this Convention the claims of another illustrious son who in his person and character typifies and stands for all that is best in Kentucky manhood, he has sent a message across the sea, and, as his fellow-townsman and close friend, I am authorized to say that he does not desire his name to be presented to this Convention. No words of mine can express the warmth of the feelings which I know are in his heart toward those who have sought to do him honor and are engaged in this great fight, but I feel that I can say that in the future, so long as life and strength remain, he will always be found, as in the past, battling for the right as he sees the right, and for the undying principles of Democracy. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will resume the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY: Arkansas.

MR. S. W. FORDYCE, of Arkansas: Mr. Chairman, Arkansas asks to be passed for the present.

THE SECRETARY: California.

MR. JOHN P. IRISH, of Calfornia: I am instructed by my colleagues on the California delegation to say that California, having no name to present, with the assent of the convention, yields her place to the State of Michigan.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from Michigan will take the platform—Mr. Lemuel L. Kilbourne.

LEMUEL L. KILBOURNE, of Michigan:

Gentlemen of the Convention—I am very proud to be privileged to-day to have the State of which I have the honor to be a member occupy for the time being a place on this platform rightfully belonging to the State of California. As I listened yesterday to the eloquent words of the gentleman of that State who stood before us, I thought that we should change the old refrain and put in place of it "The Irish may apply." [Applause.] Gentlemen of the Convention, I come from the State of Michigan, one of a body of twenty-eight delegates to this Democratic Convention, for the purpose of assisting in rebuilding the Democratic temple and erecting within it a shrine at which none but Democrats shall ever kneel. [Applause.] We in the State of Michigan have had an opportunity to know something of the gentlemen who talk of free silver. Two years ago our people, beguiled by the silver cry, yielded in a weak moment and placed in their platform a declaration in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver, because we were told by the advocates of that theory that we could carry the State against our Republican adversaries, and that we would bring untold blessings to the laboring people of the commonwealth.

We yielded in a weak and evil moment, and with the result that whereas Mr. Cleveland only lacked 23,000 votes of carrying that State four years ago, the nominee of the free-silver Democratic convention of Michigan was buried under a Republican majority of 104,000. [Applause.] A few months ago, when the people of my State were engaged in their town meetings and had to elect a judge of our Supreme Court, a gentleman who had presided as the chief justice of that tribunal, but who had yielded to the heresy of free silver, placed himself before the people as the exponent of the doctrine of free coinage, and he said to his friends throughout the State, "I will show you now that this doctrine meets the approval of the intelligent people of the commonwealth

of Michigan." At that town meeting, when the votes were cast, the free-silver candidate was buried under a majority of 88,000 votes. So, my friends, we in Michigan have reason to adopt another and a different standard. We sent delegates to the convention held at Chicago who represented the sentiments of the true Democracy of Michigan, and when they reached there we found their faces not only turned to the wall, but faced about and made to play a make-weight for the Populistic tide that enabled Mr. Bryan to stand before the public as the fraudulent candidate of the Democracy of the Union.

Humiliated and ashamed, we left that convention, little knowing where we might go for consolation and relief; but, gentlemen, there soon gathered in Grand Rapids, in our State, a body of loyal Democrats and issued a call for the State convention to be held at the Capitol. That convention was held, and while also acting in unison with the gentlemen who met in this city, we placed a Democratic State ticket in the field, and the nominee of that convention, protesting that he had no time to make a political campaign, and that his business and health would not permit it, finally yielded to the solicitude of his friends, and to-day we have him here, Hon. Rufus F. Sprague, the Democratic nominee of the State of Michigan for Governor [applause], and 50,000 of the Democrats of Michigan will poll their votes for him next November [applause]; and if we can follow it up in this Convention by the nomination of a gentleman who in himself represents the doctrines of Democracy, we will insure the electoral vote of the State of Michigan against the Populistic ticket of Chicago. [Great applause.]

Now, gentlemen, I am commissioned—and I am proud of that commission—by the delegation from the State of Michigan to present to you as the choice of Michigan a gentleman whom we believe embodies in the greatest, most concise and statesmanlike manner the doctrines enunciated in that magnificent platform which has just been presented to you—a man who has for long years been known to the people of this country, who has been not a professed but a real friend of the workingmen of this Union, who has been first and foremost in every movement for the relief of the people of this country from the tyranny of taxation, who has stood as a tower of strength and of light in this great Northwestern country, and we believe with him in nomination we can go back to Michigan and warm the hearts of our wandering Democrats and bring them back to the fold; and that you may accomplish the same thing through every commonwealth of this country.

I am, gentlemen, here for the purpose of presenting the choice of Michigan, a gentleman whom we expect will take the standard that was first reared by Jefferson's hands, carried by Jackson and is upheld to-day by Grover Cleveland [applause], and that he will carry that banner leading this movement on to a restored Democracy—a prouder victory than a victory that is crowned by the emoluments of office, because it will lead a betrayed and insulted people back into the paths that the fathers trod for them, and it will be the beginning of a new Democratic party that shall bestow its unnumbered blessings upon this and coming generations. Gentlemen, I have the honor to name to you that gallant

son and magnificent statesman of the State of Illinois, John M. Palmer. [Great cheering and waving of handkerchiefs, the delegates rising to their feet.]

The Chairman: The Chair recognizes Hon. John J. Enright, of Michigan.

John J. Enright, of Michigan: I wish also on behalf of the delegation from Michigan to second the nomination of Senator John M. Palmer. The Democracy nominated the immortal hero of Gettysburg, Winfield Scott Hancock, because the Democracy was satisfied with his record. The Democracy nominated Samuel J. Tilden, because she was satisfied with his record. The Democracy nominated and elected that grand man and American patriot, Grover Cleveland, because she was satisfied with his record. The Democracy of Michigan now takes pleasure in seconding the nomination of Senator John M. Palmer because they know and are satisfied with his record.

John P. Irish, of California: Mr. President, I rise to a point of order.

The Chairman: The gentleman from California rises to a point of order. The gentleman will please state his point of order.

John P. Irish, of California: Mr. President, the point of order to which I rise is that the States are being called for the presentation of names for President, and not for seconding speeches.

The Chairman: The Chair is of the opinion that the point of order is not well taken. The gentleman from Michigan will proceed. If he is through, the Secretary will resume the calling of the roll of States.

The Secretary: Colorado. Connecticut.

Thomas M. Waller, of Connecticut: Mr. President, Connecticut yields to Wisconsin.

Jas. G. Flanders, of Wisconsin: Mr. President, the choice of Wisconsin will be presented by Hon. Bird W. Jones, of Madison.

BIRD W. JONES, of Wisconsin:

I do not quite quote the language of the gentleman from Texas who once in a Republican convention became known to fame when I ask, "What are we here for, if not for our principles?"

Representing the delegation of Wisconsin, representing that State, I desire to say just a word concerning Wisconsin politics. Although in former years Wisconsin was classed as a Republican State, in 1890 the Democracy was successful, and in 1892 Wisconsin again cast a handsome majority for the State and electoral tickets of the Democratic party. But about two years ago the pendulum swung to Republicanism again. About sixty days ago, in convention assembled, the Democracy of Wisconsin sent a delegation to the Chicago convention pledged to honest money and the gold standard. To-day there are gathered together in Milwaukee in another convention, our erring and misguided brethren, who are singing the hosannas to free silver, and who, content in their quick conversion, are already anticipating the spoils of victory.

There are others now wavering and uncertain whether they shall bow to or turn away from the false prophets now clothed in the livery of Democracy. The sound money men of Wisconsin are unanimous in the belief that the man who can best rally those who now hesitate as to their duty in Wisconsin and in this nation is that matchless leader whose name is a household word in every home in Wisconsin—more than that, whose deathless courage and devotion to this government are a part of the glory of our Republic. As I utter these words there comes to the mind of every man in this audience the name of the dauntless commander of the old Iron Brigade, the hero of fifty battles, fighting Ed. Bragg, of the United States army. [Applause.]

In the great national conventions of our party for more than thirty years he has been a leader in the counsels of Democracy. For eight years in the halls of Congress he represented his State, and, as the chairman of important committees, was tried and trusted by his State and nation. His record as a legislator and as the representative of our government at a foreign court are an open book to which we invite your inspection with utmost fearlessness. General Bragg is a modest man, and if I were to pretend that he has never erred he would repudiate the claim. But I do assert that he has never misled the people by ambiguous phrases. And if he has ever had reason to change his views on any subject, he was honest and bold enough to tell the truth. Moreover, it is part of the political history of our State that for many years the views of General Bragg upon the great question which now divides the Democratic party have been in full accord with that wing of the party which is represented here to-day.

General Bragg is one of the ablest lawyers of the Northwest, and hence he can only abhor this dogma of the Chicago convention that the Supreme Court of the United States should be packed for the purpose of partisan plunder.

THINGS HE OPPOSES.

His Democracy goes back, without a break, almost to the days of Jackson. Hence he can only loathe the modern doctrine that a great government should compel creditors, public and private, to accept payment of their debts in a depreciated and dishonest currency.

General Bragg, as a citizen-soldier, loves law and order as the very apple of his eye. How could he but turn in abhorrence from that platform which stretches out to lawlessness the right hand of encouragement and fellowship?

It would be a fitting response to the conduct of the Chicago convention and to the insults it heaped upon our President if this Convention should nominate one in whom Grover Cleveland has more than once expressed special confidence and favor. [Applause.] If the Chicago convention could not, General Bragg does recognize the fact that every hour of his career Grover Cleveland has stood ready to sacrifice himself on the altar of revenue reform [applause]; that the reforms in the civil service alone during the last two Democratic administrations will endure as a monument to the courage and patriotism of Mr. Cleveland when the whole miserable work of the Chicago convention will be remembered by Americans only in humiliation and shame.

In a campaign in which the masses of a great people are invited by every art of the demagogue and by every appeal to prejudice to depart from the principles of common honesty, we shall need as our leaders men whose courage has been tested and tempered in the fiercest heat of repeated conflicts. We must appeal to the highest moral sense of the American people, to their national pride, to their sense of honor. They never yet have proved dishonest. I believe they never will.

If there is any doubt as to the courage of General Bragg, go ask the battle-scarred veterans who faced him at the second battle of Bull Run, at South Mountain, at Antietam, at the battles of Fredericksburg, and during the long struggles of the Wilderness.

During these days of processions and crowded streets in Indianapolis, the old veterans who wore the blue and the old veterans who wore the gray have vied in their tributes of love and honor to the old commander. All the world honors the man who knows how to fight in time of war, and how to forget and love in time of peace.

THE MEN TO NOMINATE.

If, in this great civil battle, which must now be fought to the end, it should be the pleasure of this Convention to nominate one who fought under the stars and stripes, and another of equal valor who fought under the stars and bars, the sound money Democracy would rally as one man under the old veterans, marching no longer face to face in deadly conflict, but shoulder to shoulder under one banner on which should be inscribed: "The national honor shall be preserved."

Proudly we present to you the name of General Bragg. We love him for his splendid record of his long civil life, for the Democracy, for revenue reform and for good government. We love him no less

for his bravery in the battles he has fought on tented fields. We love him because he has never worshiped at the glittering shrine of temporary success. We love him not only for "the enemies he has made," but because he is the friend of honest men and an honest dollar. We who have gathered in this Convention have thereby pledged ourselves to maintain this struggle for honest money. We have enlisted for the war. No matter whom you may name for your commander, General Ed. Bragg will be in the thickest of the fight. He would be lonesome anywhere else. He would gladly buckle on his sword as a private in the ranks, but we ask you, in the name of those who love him in Wisconsin, and in behalf of hundreds of thousands who wait expectant in other States, will it not be best to let the gallant old General lead the charge? [Great applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will proceed with the calling of the roll.

The Secretary resumed the calling of the roll. When the State of Florida was called—

H. H. PUTNAM, of Florida: Mr. President, Florida desired to place in nomination the name of one who is loved and honored above all others by the American people throughout this land, but she desires now to make a statement through her representative, Hon. J. W. Hartridge, and she asks the courtesy of this Convention for that purpose.

J. W. HARTRIDGE, of Florida:

Gentlemen of the Convention, what I shall have to say to you will possess the merit of brevity, if nothing else. I am charged by my delegation with a message which I desire to deliver to this Convention. We came here for the purpose of setting, so far as we could, our seal of condemnation upon a dollar that had an interrogation point behind it. [Applause.] We came here to put our foot upon a dollar that hesitated and asked its value when it crossed the border of its State. We came here to advocate a dollar that was good on land and on sea in every civilized country on earth. [Applause.] We came here for the purpose of fighting that profanation of principles that took place at Chicago. We came here to inaugurate a warfare against that unholy trinity, the Populists, the so-called Democrats and the Silverites of the Chicago convention and the St. Louis convention. [Applause.]

Standing here for that purpose, we believe that the gentleman who has illustrated the Democratic party in the United States for two terms embodies, more nearly than any other person, our ideas. It was our purpose when we came here to place his name before the Convention, because we believed, my friends, that to-day the civilized world is standing with its ear acute to hear the sound that comes from this Conven-

tion, as the Scottish lassie put an ear to the ground, acute by suffering and famine at Lucknow, and caught the music of the bagpipes of Havelock's army as they progressed to their rescue. So the people of the world to-day stand with their ears acute with anxiety, listening to the sound that shall come from this Convention in no uncertain way to set them in the path that they should follow, and from which the Chicago convention deviated. [Applause.]

I only want to say this much, my friends, upon the part of the Florida delegation, that we, with hearty and entire unanimity second the nomination of Mr. Palmer, of Illinois. [Great applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will proceed with the call of the roll.

The Secretary resumed the calling of the roll. When the State of Georgia was called—

MR. HAMMOND, of Georgia: Mr. President, Georgia has no name to present, no candidate, but Georgia desires to make a statement through the lips of one of its eloquent delegates, Hon. Thomas F. Corrigan, and requests the favor of the Convention for that purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes Hon. Thomas F. Corrigan, of Georgia:

THOMAS F. CORRIGAN, of Georgia:

Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Convention—I am instructed by a majority of the delegates from Georgia to second the nomination of Hon. John M. Palmer, of Illinois. In doing so I desire to supplement that utterance with an observation that I think at least is timely. This is the first supreme moment of assurance of the restoration of the national honor that has been vouchsafed to the American people since the free-sliver blight was conceived and launched. The battle of the standards was called and has waged with fury and unequalled fierceness upon the plains of the American Waterloo, but Blucher has arrived. In this Convention we see much to hope for. We see in it an assurance, a rekindled hope of American honor and Democratic future. We believe that John M. Palmer [applause] is the proper man to meet upon the field of contest the champion of the free-silver mob of disloyal Democrats, Populists and Republicans who met at Chicago and chose the man who was loudest in his determination to bolt the party if his free-silver views were not adopted—the man who, when the infuriated mob invaded the precincts of the holy of holies, rushed out with a cross of gold, that sign of man's redemption, and with derision and mockery carried himself into the nomination of parties swayed by midsummer madness. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will resume the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY: Idaho. Illinois.

HENRY S. ROBBINS, of Illinois: Mr. President, Illinois asks, for the present, to be passed.

THE SECRETARY: Indiana.

AUGUST BRENTANO, of Indiana: Mr. Chairman, Indiana has no candidate.

THE SECRETARY: Iowa.

L. M. MARTIN, of Iowa: Mr. President, Iowa has no candidate.

THE SECRETARY: Kansas.

THOMAS P. FENLAN, of Kansas: Mr. President, Kansas has no candidates to present.

THE SECRETARY: Kentucky.

GEORGE M. DAVIE, of Kentucky: Mr. President, Kentucky has no candidate to present for President.

THE SECRETARY: Louisiana.

CHARLES JANVIER, of Louisiana: Mr. President, Louisiana has no candidiate to present and no speech to make. [Applause.] We say that no matter who the candidates may be we are all heart and soul for them, and will support them in Louisiana.

THE SECRETARY: Maine.

C. VEY HOLMAN, of Maine: Mr. President, Maine has no candidate to present, but we pledge to our fellow-Democrats our warm and ardent support to the candidate of this National Democratic Convention [applause]; but John M. Palmer is good enough for us. [Applause].

THE SECRETARY: Massachusetts.

WILLIAM EVERETT, of Massachusetts: Mr. President, Massachusetts presents no candidate, and will be glad to vote as soon as we can get to a ballot.

THE SECRETARY: Michigan. Minnesota.

F. M. W. CUTCHEON, of Minnesota:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—I shall take but a moment of your time. [Applause and laughter.] Until an hour ago Minnesota had a candidate to present to this Convention. When the alleged Democrats of the Chicago convention had put a smirch upon the name of Democracy and upon the honor of the nation, one of Minnesota's bravest sons came back and, like a loyal Democrat and son of the North Star State, refused to submit. He did not stop to discuss the question of whether he was a revolutionist or a Democrat [applause], but called the loyal Democrats of Minnesota together and raised the banner of true Democracy, and until an hour ago it was the purpose of the Democrats of Minnesota to ask you to consider as a fit candidate for standard-bearer of our party David W. Lawler, of the North Star State. [Great applause.] But, gentlemen, we have become convinced that there is but one man whose name is fit to link with that leader of Southern chivalry, General Buckner, of Kentucky. [Applause.] And that is that gallant and sturdy old war-horse of Illinois, John M. Palmer. Ally once more the blue and the gray, and I pledge you that the true Democrats of the United States, joining hands as the gallant boys of '61 joined hands, whether Republicans or Democrats, will march forward once more, if not to victory, at least to the preservation of the nation's honor. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will continue the calling of the roll.

THE SECRETARY: Mississippi.

H. M. STREET, of Mississippi: Mr. Chairman, Mississippi has no candidate, and not a man in the delegation that can make a speech. [Applause.]

THE SECRETARY: Missouri.

FREDERICK LEHMAN, of Missouri:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—The encouragement that you are giving to speech-making [laughter] is enough to sustain the weakest heart. The delegates from Missouri came to this Convention, expecting to present for your consideration, under the instructions of their State, the name of their fellow-citizen, Col. James O. Broadhead. The purity of his private life, his high abilities, his uprightness of character, his wide experience in professional and public affairs, make him worthy of any distinction that you might confer. But he has declined to permit us to use his name, and we reluctantly acquiesce in his decision. We meet here, gentlemen, forewarned of defeat. No candidate whom we may name can be elected. [Cries of "Don't believe it!" "No!" "No!"] Let us face the worst, and let us

take even for granted that he may not carry even one electoral vote. [Cries of "Don't believe it!" repeated.] Though our hope is forlorn, our effort will not be in vain. [Applause.] If we worthily sustain this contest, it will prove a new Thermopylæ, the sacrifice of individuals and the salvation of the nation.

The supreme requirement of leadership in such an emergency is supreme courage, a courage which needs not the prospect of victory to incite it to action, a courage which can find in duty alone inspiration to the utmost doing and the utmost daring. [Applause.] We find this need met by a distinguished citizen of the United States, who has been all his life inured to the fight in field and forum, who has borne himself with equal gallantry in battle and in debate, who has the impetuous courage of the Cavalier in attack and the stubborn courage of the Roundhead in defense—a man who is no more afraid of a metaphor than he is of a musket. [Immense applause and waving of hands.] I second the nomination of the grim, gray, grizzled veteran, the iron leader of the Iron Brigade, General Edwin S. Bragg, of Wisconsin. [Great applause.]

The Chairman: The Secretary will proceed with the calling of the roll.

The Secretary: Montana.

James T. Sanford, of Montana: Mr. President, Montana has no candidate.

The Secretary: Nebraska.

C. O. Montgomery, of Nebraska: Mr. President, Nebraska thinks she has already furnished one too many candidates for the presidency. [Great applause, followed by three cheers for Nebraska.]

Clarence E. Carr, of Nebraska: Mr. President, we desire to send through the Nebraska delegation to the Nebraska candidate for the presidency the message, "You shall not place upon our lips the Judas Iscariot kiss."

The Secretary: Nevada. New Hampshire.

Gordon Woodberry, of New Hampshire: Mr. President, New Hampshire takes pleasure in seconding the nomination of the gallant gentleman from Illinois, Gen. John M. Palmer.

The Secretary: New Jersey. New York.

Mr. Griffin, of New York: Mr. President, New York has no candidate.

THE SECRETARY: North Carolina. North Dakota. Ohio.

MR. HOLDING, of Ohio: Mr. President, with her usual modesty, the State of Ohio presents no candidate.

THE SECRETARY: Oregon.

L. L. MCARTHUR, of Oregon:

My interest in this Convention, in the cause for which it stands, is attested by the fact that I came here with my colleagues from Oregon in answer to a call of duty and of patriotism. As I stand in the midst of this august Convention, every fibre of my body thrills with pride. I am proud that I am an American citizen, and I am proud that I am a Democrat. [Applause.] I am doubly proud that there are so many other Democrats in this fair land who are determined to rebuke the party treason of the Chicago convention. [Applause.] Ours is the righteous duty of pressing home upon the dull comprehension of the leaders of that convention the fact that there are in our ranks over a million independent Democrats who spurn their platform and reject their candidates. Those Democrats who have the courage of their convictions and are determined to fight as never men fought before to recover their surrendered banners and to re-establish the principles of their party, so basely abjured. We have another lofty duty to perform of insisting upon honesty in the assertion of principles of government policies. From this time forth let it be a maxim of politics in this country that the party that is not honest does not deserve success. To lead us in this crisis we need a great and an honest and a determined man, one loyal to our cause [cheers], party principles and in the application of party principles to governmental policies. From this time forth let it be a maxim of politics in this country that the party which is not honest does not deserve and will not attain success. [Cheers.] Let us stand steadfast for honest money, honest policies and honest government. To lead us in this crisis we need a brave and honest and a determined man, one loyal to our cause and devoted to its principles. I disparage no one when I say that General Bragg is the man for this service. Not only in council and debate has he displayed conspicuous ability, but on the field of battle he has evinced undaunted courage. Under his leadership we shall be found in the thickest of the fight, and, though we may fall in the contest, every wound that we receive will be found in the front. I second the nomination of General Bragg. [Applause.]

ZERA SNOW, of Oregon:

Mr. Chairman, the Oregon delegation has met with the National Democrats in Indianapolis to help right the great wrong perpetrated at Chicago, to which, I regret to say, Oregon in some part contributed. Our delegation is here, however, for principles rather than for candi-

dates, for measures rather than for men. We earnestly desire the adoption of the gold standard plank in the platform, and a resolution looking to the permanent organization of this Convention; and that being done, we consider our mission practically fulfilled. But the duty of the delegate is only half done at this crisis in aiding in the establishment of true Democratic principles. At this particular juncture much which we have accomplished might be lost in the personnel of our candidate. I rise, therefore, in behalf of part of the delegation, to second the nomination of the gentleman who has already been nominated to this Convention. While Oregon and its delegation are united in its principles, united in its devotion to our party and the country, its delegation is not always agreed as to methods and means; and while we love General Bragg for himself and for the record he has made, which is a part of the history of our country, and while we love him for his loves and the expression he has given to his loves, yet in behalf of part of the Oregon delegation I desire to second the nomination of that grand old man from Illinois, General John M. Palmer. [Applause.] General Palmer needs no encomium from me. His public record is the common heritage of our country. We second his nomination, therefore, not because we love Cæsar less, but because we love Rome more.

THE SECRETARY: Pennsylvania.

JUDGE J. C. BULLITT, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Pennsylvania delegation, I rise to say that they have no favorite son to present and no speech to make.

THE SECRETARY: Rhode Island.

ARNOLD GREEN, of Rhode Island; Mr. Chairman, Rhode Island has no name to present.

THE SECRETARY: South Carolina.

GEORGE M. TRENHOLM, of South Carolina: Mr. President, South Carolina has no name to present. The gentleman from Michigan spoke for South Carolina.

THE SECRETARY: South Dakota. Tennessee.

GEORGE W. OCHS, of Tennessee: Mr. Chairman, I am instructed by the joint voice of the Tennessee delegation to second the nomination of Hon. John M. Palmer, of Illinois.

THE SECRETARY: Texas.

T. H. FRANKLIN, of Texas: Mr. Chairman, Texas seconds the nomination of Gen. John M. Palmer, of Illinois.

THE SECRETARY: Utah. Vermont.

W. H. Creamer, of Vermont: Mr. Chairman, Vermont seconds the nomination of Gen. John M. Palmer, of Illinois.

The Secretary: Virginia.

S. V. Southall, of Virginia:

Virginia regrets that she cannot honor both General Palmer and General Bragg. I was in the convention of 1884, when we were anxious about Grover Cleveland. I shall never forget the battle cry which General Bragg gave the Cleveland men, "We love him for the enemies he has made." They and the Virginia delegation and thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of Democrats love General Bragg because he loved Grover Cleveland. But as we have no dual presidency, as they did in Rome have two Consuls, as we must select between these distinguished men whose names have been presented, Virginia thinks, in deference to the size of the electoral vote of Illinois, and influenced by another reason which is a compliment to General Bragg—that Wisconsin is certain, and that Illinois, with its twenty-four votes, may be doubtful—she desires to second the nomination of John M. Palmer, of Illinois. I desire to say, if it would lend any influence to the position taken by Virginia on this occasion, all of you who are Democrats, true and genuine and legitimate Democrats, not bastard Democrats, all of you know that Jefferson was born, lived and died and was buried in Virginia. The first thing I see—I live within two miles of Monticello, just at its foot—when I look out of the eastern windows of my home, the first thing that my eyes light upon is the glorious sun in the heavens and the tomb of the illustrious son of Virginia.

We who think that, politically, we are lineal descendants of Thomas Jefferson are here for the purpose of rescuing the ark of our political faith, which has been surrendered to the heathen and Populist and the traitors that misrepresented us at Chicago. I know but one difference between Chicago and St. Louis. At St. Louis they passed a Populistic platform, full of Populistic follies, but at Chicago to the follies of the Populistic platform at St. Louis they added the crime of stealing the Democratic name. [Applause.] That is what we want to correct, and I believe that is what we will correct. I do not agree with one of the gentlemen who addressed you, that there is no chance for the election of a third ticket. [Applause.] I am so extremely young and emotionless that I believe others will say I am kindly disposed. I hope I am a magnanimous man, but as far as I am concerned, though I have heard it opposed by some, if Bryan will come down, and he and his followers will return on or before the 15th of October, I am in favor of receiving them. That, I think, is rather a burning question now, whether they shall be received, whether we shall put rings upon their fingers and give each of them the fatted calf." [Applause.]

The Chairman: The Secretary will proceed.

The Secretary: Washington.

HUGH C. WALLACE, of Washington: Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the State of Washington, I second the nomination of General Palmer. (Applause.)

THE SECRETARY: West Virginia:

ALFRED CALDWELL, of West Virginia: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the State of West Virginia, we thank you for the opportunity to vote for the nominee of this Convention, and we are proud of having voted for the platform of principles just adopted by this Convention; but West Virginia has no candidate to present.

THE SECRETARY: Wisconsin. Wyoming. Mr. Chairman, that completes the roll.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will call the State of Illinois, which was passed in the regular roll-call.

THE SECRETARY: Illinois.

JOHN C. BLACK, of Illinois: Mr. President, when the State of Illinois was reached on the regular roll-call, it asked that it might be temporarily passed. Now the State of Illinois asks the indulgence of this Convention to be called and to be permitted to make a statement by Judge Thomas A. Moran.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes Judge Thomas A. Moran, of Illinois.

JUDGE THOMAS A. MORAN, of Illinois:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention—We only break silence now to explain to you why, during the progress of this afternoon's session of this Convention, Illinois has been silent so long. We have been silent, gentlemen, because our lips were sealed by the command of the Hon. John. M. Palmer, of Illinois. [Applause.] It has been our conviction since the question of the candidacy of this Convention has been mooted that John M. Palmer was the man above all other men in the United States that filled the eye and ear with satisfaction as the proper candidate of this Convention. [Applause.] But we have been forbidden to say so by that man, who is as modest and retiring as he is great. [Applause.] And now we speak what we have to say without his permission or consent.

When we hear State after State in this Convention proclaiming the same conviction that we have held from the first, we cannot longer

restrain our voices [applause], but must unite with you in selecting the Hon. John M. Palmer as the standard-bearing nominee of this Convention. [Applause.] In his selection you will honor Illinois, and Illinois is one at least, if not, indeed, the true battle-field where this election is to be decided. [Applause.]

There is but one issue in this campaign. Platforms may contain declarations and resolutions, but it is the habit of the American people and of free people everywhere to settle one political issue at a time. [Applause and cries of "Good."] The issue in this campaign is the issue between sound money and a depreciated currency; and in John M. Palmer you have a man whose political life has been devoted, whenever the question was to the front, to the defense of sound money against all sorts of depreciated currency or of fiat paper or fiat money by the government. [Applause.] In John M. Palmer you have upon this question a platform. [Applause.] You need no word. He stands in Illinois for sound money as against fiatism, greenbackism and free silver, and there he has stood during all the days of his political life. [Applause.]

We are, by the circumstances of this campaign, put in temporary alliance upon this question with the candidates of the Republican party. We can see in this campaign but one issue, but, unfortunately, the Republicans, who are our temporary allies upon this issue, see in this campaign two issues. They see in this campaign the issue of high protection. But that issue, gentlemen of the Convention, was settled in this country four years ago [applause], and we can never have it brought to the front again; and the idea that there are in this campaign two issues arises from political confusion or from political intoxication. The position of the Republican party makes me commend to them the advice given by a Hibernian friend of mine who undertook to direct toward his home a friend of his who had got too much and was hardly able to find his way. He took him out and he said, "Mike, go down there to the next corner, and when you get there you will see two cabs; take the first one; there is but one." [Laughter.] The issue in this campaign is sound money, and no matter what we have put in this platform or what is in any other platform, that issue the American people will decide in this campaign, and will forever settle the question of free silver and give us financial peace and restore confidence and prosperity.

To that mission, to lead in that battle, to lead in that fight, no man is better prepared, no man better qualified, than John M. Palmer. There is a peculiar fitness in nominating him. It was upon the soil of Illinois that the Democratic banner was pulled down and trailed in the dust. It is fitting now that when we raise this whole Democratic banner of pure principles again you should select the standard-bearer from the State of Illinois. [Applause.] Take him, and through the campaign, with his sturdy manhood, his straightforward common sense, his manifest, plain, old-fashioned honesty, we will travel through this campaign, if not to victory, at least we will travel with honor, with glory and with reputation made for ourselves and our party. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The roll of States will now be called, and the Chariman will announce the vote of their delegations: The gentleman from Maryland.

MR. SELDEN, of Maryland: Mr. Chairman, is a motion in order? I move that Gen. John M. Palmer be nominated by acclamation.

[Cries of "No," "No."]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair thinks the motion of the gentlemen from Maryland is not in order.

JAMES PARKER, of New Jersey: Mr. President, I rise for the purpose of asking a question. Concerning the fitness of General Palmer and concerning the fitness of General Bragg there is no question in any of our minds. The eloquent gentlemen who has just left the platform has given us very good reasons why General Palmer should be nominated. The question I am going to ask is simply this—

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the gentlemen from New Jersey inform the Chair as to what point he is addressing himself?

JAMES PARKER, of New Jersey: Mr. President, I am simply going to ask a question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the gentlemen will ask it.

JAMES PARKER, of New Jersey: Mr. President, I want to know what assurance we have that General Palmer will accept this nomination. He says he will not.

[Cries of "Yes, he will accept."]

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentlemen from New Jersey appears to the Chair out of order. The gentlemen from New Jersey is out of order.

W. B. CHILDERS, of New Mexico: Mr. Chairman, I rise to a question of privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman from New Mexico will state his question of privilege.

W. B. CHILDERS, of New Mexico: Mr. President, the representatives of the Territories have come here and have

been seated in this Convention. We desire to have the names of the Territories called in order that they may have an opportunity of expressing their preferences, if they wish to, by making or seconding nominations; and when the roll is called the delegates from the Territories desire to have their votes recorded.

[Voices, "That's right."]

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair does not understand that the Territories have any right to nominate candidates or to second nominations. They can only vote. The question is now upon the nomination of a candidate for President of the United States by the National Democratic Party. The roll will now be called.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll; and the States, by the chairmen of the several delegations, voted as follows:

Alabama—Palmer, 16; Bragg, 6.
Arkansas—Palmer, 16.
California—Palmer, 18.
Colorado—Palmer, 8.
Connecticut—Palmer, 12.
Delaware—Palmer, 6.
Florida—Palmer, 8.
Georgia—Palmer, 20; Bragg, 6.
Illinois—Palmer, 47; Bragg, 1.
Indiana—Palmer, 30.
Iowa—Palmer, 25½; Bragg, ½.
Kansas—Palmer, 20.
Kentucky—Palmer, 14; Bragg, 12.
Louisiana—Palmer, 16.
Maine—Palmer, 12.
Maryland—Palmer, 16.
Massachusetts—Palmer, 30.
Michigan—Palmer, 28.
Minnesota—Palmer, 15; Bragg, 3.
Mississippi—Palmer, 18.
Missouri—Palmer, 17; Bragg, 17.
Montana—Palmer, 6.
Nebraska—Palmer, 8; Bragg, 8.
New Hampshire—Palmer, 8.
New Jersey—Palmer, 19; Bragg, 1.
New York—Palmer, 47; Bragg, 25.
North Carolina—Palmer, 22.
North Dakota—Palmer, 6.
Ohio—Palmer, 30; Bragg, 16.
Oregon—Palmer, 4; Bragg, 4.
Pennsylvania—Palmer, 63; Bragg, 1.
Rhode Island—Palmer, 8.
South Carolina—Palmer, 18.
South Dakota—Palmer, 5; Bragg, 3.
Tennessee—Palmer, 21; Bragg, 3.
Texas—Palmer, 31.
Virginia—Palmer, 24.
Vermont—Palmer, 8.
Washington—Palmer, 8.
West Virginia—Palmer, 12.
Wisconsin—Bragg, 24.
Alaska—Palmer, 6.
Arizona—Palmer, 6.
New Mexico—Palmer, 6.
Oklahoma—Palmer, 6.

Total—Palmer, 757½; Bragg, 124½.

G. V. GRESS, of Georgia: Mr. President, Georgia desires to change six votes from Bragg to Palmer, and cast twenty-six votes for Palmer.

THE CHAIRMAN: Georgia changes her vote to twenty-six for General Palmer.

THOMAS G. JONES, of Alabama: Mr. President, Alabama desires to change her vote from sixteen for Palmer and six for Bragg to twenty-two votes for Palmer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will note the change.

The Chair recognizes General Bragg.

GENERAL BRAGG:

Mr. Chairman—Thanking my noble State for the honor it has done me in presenting my name before this distinguished body of Democrats, and those other States who have kindly given me their support, I think I can do myself no greater honor than at this time to move the unanimous nomination of General John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and I can assure him and his friends that I shall occupy just the same place toward him and toward the principles that are promulgated by this Convention as if I had been its leader. [Applause.] My voice and my figure will always be where Wisconsin has expressed her opinion that her sons ought to be—nearest to the flashing of the gun.

THE CHAIRMAN: General Bragg, of Wisconsin, moves that the rules be suspended and that General John M. Palmer, of Illinois, be nominated by acclamation.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor of the suspension of the rules and the nomination of General John M. Palmer by acclamation will say "Aye;" contrary "No." There are no "Noes." The "Ayes" have it, and General John M. Palmer is the nominee of the National Democratic Party for President of these United States. [Great applause.]

The Secretary will proceed to call the roll of States for nominations for Vice-President.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

When the State of Kentucky was called—

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair recognizes Hon. Wilbur F. Browder, of Kentucky.

WILBUR F. BROWDER, of Kentucky:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention—In the fierce conflict at Chicago, between principle upon the one side and cowardly expediency upon the other, the Democratic party of the United States received at the hands of its betrayers a cruel and murderous blow; but that it was not mortally wounded is evidenced by this magnificent gathering of representative Democrats who have come from every section of the Union, not for the purpose of seeking or bestowing the emoluments of place and power, but for the purpose of entering their indignant protest against and of publicly renouncing their allegiance to that strange and revolutionary creed which that convention sent forth to an astounded people, and misnamed it the Democratic platform. That great political party, whose origin is almost coeval with the birth of American liberty, which took its inspiration from the Declaration of Independence itself, which was designed by its great founder to be the interpreter and defender of the Federal Constitution, the guide and champion of government upon this continent, that party which has embellished American civilization with a long line of illustrious deeds, from the achievements of Jefferson to the achievements of Cleveland, has lived too long, and has witnessed the rise and fall of too many rival political organizations, is the hope and refuge of too many patriotic lovers of liberty, to permit it to be used as the sword of Altgeld or the red torch of Tillmanism. [Great applause.]

Gentlemen, those of us who realize that the fulminations of that convention were at war with all the traditions and principles of Democracy have assembled here to-day for the purpose of making a platform and nominating a presidential ticket which shall appeal to every enlightened Democrat in the land. We have, sir, stated the principles of our party's faith in the platform; we have nominated for the office of President the distinguished soldier-statesman from Illinois; and now I come from that dear old commonwealth which I love, and on its behalf ask this great Convention to place upon that platform, and by the side of the distinguished John M. Palmer, of Illinois, Kentucky's grand old man, Simon Bolivar Buckner. [Applause.]

M. B. MAY, of Ohio: Mr. President, I move that the rules be suspended, and General Buckner be nominated by acclamation.

HENRY A. ROBBINS, of Illinois: Mr. Chairman, the State of Illinois seconds the motion to make the nomination of General Buckner, for Vice-President, unanimous.

SIGOURNEY BUTLER, of Massachusetts: The commonwealth of Massachusetts comes to the commonwealth of Kentucky and says to all that it loves the man who wore the gray, if he is a good man and a brave man. The Democrats

of Massachusetts come from the home of Daniel Webster to the home of Henry Clay, and we join in the motion to suspend the rules and nominate General Buckner by acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is to suspend the rules and to make the nomination of Simon Bolivar Buckner, for Vice-President of the United States, unanimous. All in favor of the motion will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." The "Ayes" have it, unanimously. I declare that Simon Bolivar Buckner is the nominee of the National Democratic Party for Vice-President of the United States.

JAMES O. BROADHEAD, of Missouri: Mr. Chairman, I send to the Secretary's desk a resolution to be read, which I desire to offer.

The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the National Committee shall have full power to arrange for the placing of the names of the candidates of the National Democratic Party upon the ballots in the respective States in the manner required by the election laws of said States; that said committee shall have power to fill all vacancies and arrange for the notification of the candidates nominated by this Convention, and generally to exercise the powers of this Convention after the adjournment thereof.

JAMES O. BROADHEAD, of Missouri: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion of the gentleman from Missouri. All those is favor of the adoption of the resolution will say "Aye;" contrary "No." The "Ayes" seem to have it. The "Ayes" have it, and the resolution is adopted.

GEORGE M. DAVIE, of Kentucky: Mr. President, I move the adoption of the resolution which I send to the Secretary's desk to be read.

The Secretary read the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are tendered to our Temporary National Committee and our Temporary National Executive Committee for their great and wise work for the Democratic party.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of the adoption of the resolution will say "Aye;" opposed "No." The "Ayes" seem to have it. The "Ayes" have it, and the resolution is adopted.

JAMES H. ECKELS, of Illinois: Mr. President, I desire to tender the following resolution and move its adoption.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Democratic Convention here assembled are tendered to the people of the city of Indianapolis for the manner of entertainment of this Convention.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the adoption of the resolution offered by Mr. Eckels will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." The "Ayes" have it, and the resolution is adopted.

RANDOLPH STALNAKER, of West Virginia: Mr. Chairman, do you know what the Governor of North Carolina said to the Governor of South Carolina? I think it is about time. [Great laughter.]

THE SECRETARY: Gentlemen of the Convention, I am instructed to announce that there will be a meeting of the members of the new National Committee immediately upon adjournment, at Room 38 of the Grand Hotel.

GEORGE W. OCHS, of Tennessee: I move that we adjourn, *sine die.*

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the motion to adjourn *sine die* will say "Aye;" those opposed "No." The motion is carried (at four o'clock and eight minutes P. M.). The Convention is adjourned *sine die.*

Appendix A.

WEDNESDAY EVENING.

TOMLINSON HALL, September 2, 1896,
8:00 O'CLOCK P. M.

J. McD. TRIMBLE, of Missouri, in calling the meeting to order said:

The meeting will please come to order. It was expected that Hon. W. D. Bynum, of Indiana, would call this meeting to order, but a domestic affliction has prevented his presence. This is to be regretted, because his patriotic and distinguished services in organizing this movement and bringing this Convention here are applauded throughout the country, and his merits as a citizen and virtues as a man are appreciated in this, the city of his residence. [Applause.]

The program of the evening has been settled and determined, and to the end that it may be carried out in an orderly manner, no calls for speeches other than those arranged for will be heeded. The program will not be departed from. The addresses which will be delivered to you this evening will become a part of the history of this Republic. The Convention now in session in this city is making history of which posterity will be proud. [Applause.]

We are forming a new organization to maintain old doctrines. We are enlisting a new army to carry an old flag [applause]; we are building a new temple where all the devotees of true Democracy may worship at their accustomed shrine [applause]; and in doing this we are conscious that we are rendering a patriotic duty in maintaining the supremacy of the law and the integrity of our currency. [Applause.] Those who are participating in this Convention have no hope of reward other than that which inures to the public at large, but they are conscious that the advocacy of such a cause as this is its own compensation, even as virtue is its own reward. [Applause.]

My fellow-citizens, it is not more money that we need in this country. The greater part of what we have is lying idle and unemployed, and so it will remain idle until the fear that upon its reappearance it will be shorn of half its value by the hand of repudiation shall have been removed. [Applause.] Remove the cause which drove it into hiding, and it will reappear and enter upon the discharge of its accustomed functions, and not until then. [Applause.] It is not a lower standard of money that we need, but a higher standard of integrity and patriotism. [Applause.] We want it known at home and abroad that when an American citizen makes a contract he expects to keep it [applause];

that when he signs a note he expects to pay it in full, and that his government will neither enable nor encourage him in paying it one-half in money and the other half in fiat legislation. [Applause.]

This Convention assembled here stands for that tariff policy which will give to our factories and to our farms a world-wide market [applause], and for that financial policy which will give to our commerce a world-wide dollar. [Applause.] It stands for a flag that will be respected upon the sea, and a dollar that will be accepted on every shore. [Applause.]

Gentlemen, in discharging the duties which were intended for Mr. Bynum, allow me to say that the honors which were intended for him have fallen upon me as a compliment to the gallant Democrats of Missouri who have chosen me as their standard-bearer; and to the ends of a safe government and a sound currency the addresses of the evening will be directed.

I now have the pleasure, as well as the honor, fellow-citizens, of introducing to you a distinguished citizen of New York, who will act as chairman of the meeting and who will address you. I refer to Hon. John R. Fellows. [Applause.]

Col. John R. Fellows, of New York:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow-Democrats:

The splendid enthusiasm which characterizes the gathering to-night is but the visible expression of a sentiment which is surging in the breast of hundreds of thousands of Democrats all over this great Republic. [Applause.] It had magnificent demonstration in that majestic gathering which convened in the Auditorium Hall on the 4th day of last July to protest against the action then contemplated and dreaded, and the shadows which gathered around us then have deepened and darkened greatly since. Now we are called upon to confront a peril which then but threatened, but by the action of that convention was crystalized into a declaration and a purpose constituting a menace which seriously imperils individual happiness and the prosperity of our beloved country. [Applause.]

We have gathered in convention in this city now to declare that that peril shall never become a reality to this land. [Applause.] The one justification we have for assembling here is that we are Democrats. [Applause.] And to sustain the action and purposes of the Chicago convention is treason to Democracy. [Applause and cries of "Good."] I am obedient to the will of the majority in so far as a majority has a right to control. [Applause.] I am in favor of regularity in so far as regularity has any just scope or right of action [applause], but regularity deals with forms and with methods alone, and not with principles. I deny the right of any assemblage of men, in whatever official garb they may appear or under whatever banner they may array themselves, to declare to me what is Democracy or to prescribe for me new forms, new teachings of Democracy. [Applause.] We meet from time

to time in our conventions to reproclaim old doctrines, not to create new ones.

Democracy was born before national conventions were. It would survive if national conventions were never held. [Applause.]

National conventions assemble at appropriate periods for the purpose of proclaiming the old faith, of stimulating to higher endeavor and renewed action, the purposes and the faith which we have cherished all our lives.

Sirs, would it have been competent for the Democratic party, by the mere force of a majority, under the forms of regularity, to have assembled at Chicago and have adopted the platform of a few weeks before at St. Louis, upon which the Republican candidate is now standing? Would that have been accepted as Democracy? Must we take everything for the faith which the fathers left us that may be declared from time to time by the changing caprices of the people? I have been accustomed to believe that Democracy was something more than a name. [Great applause.]

I believe it now. Let those who will, capture the flag and carry away the legends engraved upon it, so they leave to me the principles upon which my party was built. I remain the Democrat, and they are the bolters. [Great applause.]

New York, as did many other States, met in last June in State convention and declared what it believed Democracy was. It was but a renewed proclamation of the doctrine and creed that I had listened to and believed in through all the years of my manhood. It spoke from no strange lips and proclaimed no new faith. It declared that the action then contemplated and afterward perpetrated was dishonest and dishonorable, and the repudiation of all that was known as Democracy. [Applause.] We went to Chicago and voted as one man against their platform, and then as a unit refused to have anything more to do with the action of that convention. I remain to-night where the voice of New York Democracy placed me in June last, and that which flourished so fairly amid the roses of that month took root with me too deep to wither and fade in the heat of the August sun.

I shall not detain you long, because there are a number of gentlemen from different States of the Union, representing all of its geographical divisions, to whom you will be glad to listen. [Voices: "Go on."]

Mine is but the function of the presiding officer, to present others whom I am sure will interest you more; but there are one or two things which I desire to say.

It will be my privilege, after this Convention shall have accomplished its work and laid upon each one of us who are still true to the old faith the obligations of duty that then we will be glad to discharge—it will be my privilege, as it has in the past, to go into a great many of the States of this Union and again to repeat that which for more than thirty years I have been somewhat accustomed to say to audiences of Democrats. I repudiate absolutely, in all of its parts, in its detail and the entirety of its hideousness, the platform and the can-

didates of Chicago. [Applause.] If that was Democracy, then all my life I have been deceived. But I am not willing now in my old age to confess that I have gone wrong through the enthusiasm of my young life and the maturer judgment of riper years, and kneel now on a penitent's knee and declare *mea culpa! mea culpa!* in the presence of Altgeld and Tillman as father confessors. [Great applause.]

I am not willing that the party and its principles should be murdered upon any kind of a scaffold. I am not so esthetic in my tastes as the gentleman from Nebraska, and, if I am to be butchered, I care but little for the embellishments of the instrument or where the murder is committed. [Great applause.]

I believe that it comports rather more with my somewhat aristocratic tastes, if I am to be killed at all, to have it done upon a cross of gold rather than on one of cheaper and baser material. [Applause.] But it is the fact of crucifixion at all for my party against which I stand here to protest. I am unwilling to be crucified between these twin thieves of sectionalism and repudiation [great applause], neither of which seems to be in any repentant mood or stands any chance for salvation. [Applause.]

The Democratic party was founded a great many years ago in fixed and settled principles; they remain unchanging, unchangeable. I have been accustomed to look at Democracy as one does at a fixed star, knowing that it was secure in its place, and that it yielded always a serene and constant light. Sometimes, to be sure, it was obscured by darkness; sometimes it was veiled by clouds; but it left to us always the confident assurance that when these had passed there, steady in its place, and resplendent in its lustre, it would shine down upon us as it had through all the years of the past. [Applause.]

Now, I am told that the will of the majority, which may change from year to year, which may proclaim for the free coinage of silver to-day and denounce it in the succeeding convention, and then again change, is to fix for me the principles of Democracy by which my political life is to be guided and governed. I deny that right on the part of any convention, and if the convention assembled at Chicago, regular in form, clothed in the official uniform that we had placed upon them, repudiated the principles of the fathers and departed from the old teachings of Democracy, they can rightfully claim your allegiance and mine, my brethren, no longer. [Applause.]

We remain where our faith placed us, constant to the party. I believe that it is a historical fact that Benedict Arnold conducted all the preliminary negotiations for the surrender of the fortress at West Point, while wearing the official title of an American general, and with the American uniform upon his back. [Applause.] The British army at that time required regularity before they would treat with the gentleman. Now, the mere arraying of banners, the mere parading of titles, cannot bind me and should bind no one to an assemblage which denies to us the faith that we have learned to believe in and to trust, and if Chicago did that, then Chicago and the Democratic party separated and parted company. [Applause.] What have they done, then? I shall

not trouble you with a discussion of that which is the vital and important question in this campaign, suffice it to say, since that will be treated of fully by others. Suffice it to say that upon that question they proclaimed a doctrine hitherto unknown in Democratic councils and novel throughout all enlightened earth. Never in history before, in any epoch of the world's career, in any nation of earth, was there so bold attempt made, so bold intent proclaimed, of coining the two metals which form the principal currency of enlightened earth upon a mint ratio which had no relation whatever to the commercial value of the commodities to be coined. [Applause.]

This is absolutely new in the world, and whether it shall succeed is an experiment yet to be tried. Heretofore, when we have undertaken to fix a mint ratio for the coinage of the yellow and white metals, the endeavors of our wise men have been to ascertain what was the commercial ratio of these two commodities in the markets of the world. So, at the first, great opposing leaders of the parties of that day, Jefferson and Hamilton, united in an endeavor to ascertain at what ratio commercially gold and silver stood in the world's market. They ascertained it was about 15 to 1. One pound of gold was the equivalent of fifteen pounds of the white metal, and they opened their mints and coined it at that ratio, and because they found they had made but the slightest perceptible difference in the value of these two metals, one immediately went out of circulation as rapidly as it came coined from the mint; it never entered the channels of trade or assisted in carrying on any business. The necessity arose for changing the standard—the ratio—and they fixed it at 16 to 1, and again it was ascertained that by a fraction merely they had undervalued one of the metals, and that which was the superior metal again passed for years out of our history and left only the other with which to transact our business; and never for one moment of the nation's life did the coins that were issued from the mint at that ratio pass together into the circulating medium of this country and for the transaction of its business. Now it is proclaimed that where one pound of gold in South Africa, in Bombay, in Calcutta, in any mart in Europe or in the United States will purchase nearly thirty-two pounds of silver, that that silver shall be taken and minted at the ratio of 16 to 1, doubling, nearly, its mint value above its commercial value, and that there shall be coined dollars which shall bear upon their face the stamp of the United States of America that they are worth one hundred cents, when there are forty-seven cents of actual lying in the declaration.

And above it is to be placed the legend, "In God we trust." I presume that this can only have this meaning: that the silver in the dollar is worth fifty-three cents in the markets of the earth, and we are to trust to God to get the other forty-seven cents. [Applause.] This doctrine, I state, is absolutely novel. It never was undertaken by any nation upon earth before, and we have a right to ask this gentleman who is masquerading in Democratic clothing through the country now, with Popocratic badges attached—we have a right to ask him what will happen if the coinage of this commodity at this ratio does not re-

store it to the value they claim for it. Then what will happen? Why, the history of all the world will repeat itself. After that the inferior coin will remain as the only one in circulation, and the gold, to the extent of $600,000,000, now used as currency in this land will, as in a breath, disappear from the face of the land. That will be the inevitable result if the thing is not accomplished which these men desire should be, and which the history of metallic coinage in all the ages informs us never can occur. They had a better appreciation of the value of silver with relation to the markets nineteen hundred years ago than they have now.

These men who are betraying the party and betraying the country ought to turn back for something of instruction to the one from whom they get their first great lesson in betrayal. He never would have stood by the Chicago ratio. He knew better the market value of silver. He required thirty pieces of silver for one betrayal, and you are willing to do it for sixteen. [Applause.] We have a right to ask this peculiar thing which is going through the land now with a Populist head, all covered over with silver scales, with a dragon's tail, divided into two sections, one labeled Sewall and the other Watson [laughter], spouting repudiation and proclaiming that we, who stand by the faith of the fathers, are apostates to the party—we have a right to ask of him some questions. He is not alone the candidate of a party that labeled itself Democratic; he is the candidate also of a party that openly proclaimed itself Populistic. He was nominated with great enthusiasm; he was declared to be of their own sort; they cling to him to-day.

There is too much of Democracy amid the murmur of the pines for them to adopt the Maine candidate, and they turn to another acknowledged exponent of their faith for the second place upon their ticket; and we have the right to ask Mr. Bryan as to whether he indorses the action of this other convention which has nominated him. He has not declined it. He has uttered no word, he has not given utterance to an expression that tells you or me as to whether he stands upon that platform or not. He stands there as its candidate. Does he adopt its doctrines? We have a right to know that, at least, before he can appeal to any Democrat with confidence to give him his support. What is that doctrine? Let me read one or two expressions from their platform: "We demand a national currency, sure and sound, issued by the general government only, without the intervention of banks of issue. We demand that it shall be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that there shall be such a just, equitable and sufficient quantity distributed direct to the people as will enable them to conduct their business affairs."

This is a very plain, bold proclamation for fiat money, the government to issue its paper bills, based upon nothing, and issue them in such quantities as the clamor of the mob may demand, and pay them directly from the government treasury depots to the people, "as the needs of business require." Do you approve of that, Mr. Bryan? Yet the party that adopted that platform made you their candidate for President with exultant acclamation. They demand that the government shall take

control of railroad lines and operate them by their own agents; that they shall do the same with the telegraph lines. We ask Mr. Bryan if he adopts that doctrine of his Populistic friends, pure paternalism, a government to make money and hand it out to the people at their bidding; a government to take control of these great agencies of transportation and these lines which transmit the thoughts of men throughout the world and control them by their own agents, their political stipendiaries, to be changed with changing parties, and to put all this vast machinery of the commerce of the world in the keeping and clamor of parties and to the disposition of factions in our land. Does Mr. Bryan approve that? He must tell us that before, with any confidence, he can come before us and ask us for our vote, and yet with Watson and Sewall, the two tails of the dragon spitting fire and blood at each other until it covers the land—with these two men, the bitterest enemies, Bryan is going through the country talking Democracy, keeping silent as to Populism, and out of that double-headed thing trying to administer political aliment sufficient for the two caudal attachments which he drags along with him. [Laughter.]

I doubt if it can be successfully done. I do not believe the awakened sentiments of the country will justify his candidacy. I have faith in the American people. [Applause.] Sometimes the storms of passion surge over the land and we are swept for a little space from secure moorings, but after awhile the sober second thought regains its sway and domination. The heart of the American people is as sound and good as gold, and all they desire to know is what is right, and then they will do what is right [applause], and this calamity will be averted. Not only that which is threatened by a change of our standard and the creation of an absolutely new measurement of value, but that which even more gravely threatens the integrity of our institutions. They dare to proclaim, as you were told in the Convention to-day, that the government of the United States has no right to step into Indiana and enforce its own laws when they are being violated; that it has no right in the interest of the commonwealth of our Republic to see that the laws which sway the entire Republic and have operation over every individual are peaceably and quietly submitted to. Why, what does it mean? It was a rebuke to that great man who never in all his illustrious career did an act which will be remembered so gratefully as that when he checked the violence and put down disorder in the city of Chicago. [Applause.] What had happened? A mob had taken possession of the railroads, had stopped the passage of trains, had obstructed the mails. What did that mean to us? Had it no significance outside of the limit of Illinois? Why, there were hundreds of thousands of letters in process of transmission to different parts of the country, under the protection of the United States. There were messages of hope and cheer and love; there were messages of consolation and of sympathy; there were messages that conveyed physical relief and financial assistance to thousands throughout the land. They reached the citizens of Masachusetts, of South Carolina, of every State in the broad Republic.

They were stopped by violence. The officials of the State of Illinois were silent, were indifferent, or worse. And then Washington spoke, and from the lips of Cleveland [applause] proclaimed that wherever that flag waved the government of the United States was supreme, and put down that violence and allowed these messages to come to you and to myself.

Chicago declared in its platform that it was a crime; that if their candidate is elected such crimes shall no longer be committed. It met the approval of Altgeld; it met the approval of Tillman, but I dare to say, in the presence of this body of free men and free women, that ten millions of Americans, with all they have to sacrifice, their exertions, their blood, their lives, stand behind any American President to make that declaration good. [Immense applause.] We will have no such un-American doctrine as that.

Your prairies here in the West are broad and far-reaching. They stretch toward the setting sun. Our land is capacious and fruitful; her welcome to the suffering of all the world is generous and full, but broad as is our land, able as it is to satisfy every want and every longing, I say here, in the name of the free men of this Republic, that, generous as is the Republic and warm as is its welcome, we have no room save in the safe security of our dungeons or on the steps of our scaffolds for those who come here to break down the fabric of our laws. [Great applause.]

With us liberty has no meaning or no significance except as it walks to the accomplishment of its sublime purpose hand in hand with law. That the American people will forever proclaim. We do not like their attack upon our judiciary. It is un-Democratic. I had supposed that there was one thing fixed and permanent. The people were allowed at frequently recurring periods to elect their other officers, the President once in four years, members of Congress once in two years in the lower branch and in the upper branch once in six years, but they said a President may become a usurper; Congress, so frequently changing, may become the creature of the passions of the hour, be filled with ideas which are prejudicial to the security of the Republic. They could not do much harm within the short limitation of their service, but they said, in order to prevent usurpation upon the one hand or lawlessness and license upon the other, we will fix a third department of our government and make that perpetual; their tenure shall be for life or during good behavior; they are not subject to the changing caprices of the multitude; they may not be the victims of each recurring election; they are steady, serene, secure, unawed by clamor, unswayed by prejudice; their eyes are fixed upon the great chart of our liberty—the Constitution of the United States—and they are placed as the interpreters of that alone. They say to the President: "You shall not do this thing; it is beyond the limit of your power." And he has no authority to do it. They say to Congress: "Your act is null and void; it transgresses the written law; it is beyond the Constitution." And the enactment loses all force.

There is our final security. Leave that grand tribunal as the fathers fixed it, not subject to the whims and passions of men. Leave it there, with its eyes fixed not upon the one party nor upon the other, not catching inspiration from political banners, not moved by the huzzas of the crowd, but looking at the Constitution and reading its direction, and then proclaiming it for the guidance of the people. Give us that, preserve to us that, and we can stand a wicked Congress or a usurper as a President, and be secure in the preservation and maintenance of our liberties. [Applause.]

But this convention which assumed to be Democratic has dared to say that it would change the Supreme Court of the United States to meet the wishes, from time to time, of the people. Take that prop from under us, and we are poor as a people, indeed, and so every patriotic impulse, every lofty purpose, every aspiration we have for the good of our beloved land, tells us to gird ourselves for another battle for the destruction of the most dangerous heresy that has ever threatened our social, financial or political system. [Applause.] We are here in splendid array. We know our duty, and we shall fearlessly perform it. We will not borrow our metaphors from a Massachusetts Republican Congressman; we shall not borrow our platform from Ocala; we will pronounce Democratic sentiments from true Democratic lips, coined by Democratic brains and having the approval of Democratic conscience [applause]; then we will go out to battle, and we shall surely win.

Patriotism survives; the country remains; the children are true to the faith of their fathers. God lives and our cause shall triumph. The billows will roll; the storm be violent; for a long time we shall be tossed to and fro upon the crest of the billows; but by and by it will subside, the hand of patriotic effort will be stretched over the seething waters and bid them "Peace, be still." And then again in our political skies the bow, the sign of the new covenant, shall stretch and span the whole heavens. On its bright arch of crimson and gold there shall glow, in letters of imperishable light, the cheering assurance, the faith fashioned by the wisdom of the fathers, preserved by the integrity of the sons, shall be continued unto you and your children forever and forever.

Now, gentlemen, it is my privilege to introduce to you, as the first speaker, Hon. Louis R. Ehrich, of Colorado, who will address you exclusively upon the silver question.

SPEECH OF LOUIS R. EHRICH.

I have come to this Convention against the advice and entreaty of many friends. They tell me that public opinion is much inflamed in my State. It is true. Yet in its intelligence and in its manhood the State of Colorado has not descended to a level where it will not tolerate and respect the frank, free expression of honest opinion. I am not afraid. There is only one thing in this wide universe which I fear, and that is to have my conscience whispering to me: "Thou art a coward." The quality which in the last twenty years has, above all others, been lack-

ing in these United States, and to the lack of which our present troubles are directly traceable, is moral courage. As indicative of the birth of a more courageous public spirit; as revealing to the nation a body of men who so clearly put patriotic duty above political self-interest, who so evidently rank fealty to their country higher than allegiance to their party, this Convention—to thinking, loyal Americans—will stand out as the most promising and most inspiring gathering since the civil war. [Applause.]

The principal issue on which the political battle centers is the financial issue. We are confronted with the strangest of conditions. In the last quarter of a century, excluding the United States, sixteen nations of the world have limited the coinage of silver. They comprise the most intelligent nations on this earth, both monarchies and republics. They hold within their borders millions of men who till the soil, and who, like our own farmers, must compete, with the price of their products, in the markets of the world. They include among their citizens millions of men who stand in the relation of debtor and creditor. They enjoy the experience of centuries of civilization. They are not lacking in the love for humanity. Their students of financial science are the recognized world leaders. The international economic conditions are the same for them as for us. And yet not in a single one of all these nations has there arisen a "free and unlimited silver" party. Men have proposed international bimetallism, but on the whole continent of Europe the thought has not entered into a single soul of publicly advocating that one of these nations should, alone and independently, open its mints to the unrestricted coinage of silver. Is it not strange, passing strange, that this new light in financial science should have escaped all the brains of Europe, should have eluded all the trained thinkers of the more mature civilization of the Eastern section of our own country, and should have revealed itself in the silver camps of the West, on the plains of Missouri and in the valley of the Platte? Must there not have been some peculiar influences which injected this menacing question into American political life?

Before grappling with the silver question, let me say a word concerning myself—and I say it not that it can have the slightest public interest, excepting as I represent a Western type, and as it makes clear the standpoint from which I have investigated this question. I am not a banker. I own large interests in silver mines. No living soul owes me a mortgage. [Applause.] On the contrary, ten years ago, impressed with the wonderful natural resources of the Rocky mountain region, and relying on the financial sanity of my fellow-citizens, I invested my entire capital in the far Western States. The continued silver agitation has made my properties unsalable. I have seen the tide of debt rising slowly at first, but ever more rapidly, and theatening in time to engulf me. No one can sympathize with the debtor more keenly than myself. I see my way out however, not by urging this nation into the wildest and most reckless financial experiment since the days of the South Sea Bubble—not by throwing this government into the hands of a Populist receiver and compromising public and private debts on a

basis of fifty cents on the dollar—but rather in helping to mould public opinion and legislation so that we can again beget full confidence in the safety and in the stability of our monetary system, so that capital will feel safe to emerge, and that, by the energetic many-millionfold interchange of human effort, there will come again a market for property and securities which will enable the debtor to repay the creditor to the uttermost farthing with an honest one-hundred-cent dollar. [Applause.]

BIRTH OF THE SILVER QUESTION.

How, then, was the silver question born in the United States? What were the peculiar influences which brought it into life? Let us go back to the year 1867. Representatives of all the leading nations were assembled in Paris in monetary conference. This question was submitted: Is the coincidence of monetary types "attainable on the basis and condition of adopting the exclusive gold standard, leaving each State the liberty to keep its silver standard temporarily?" The vote in favor of this proposition was unanimous. If the demonetization of silver was a great conspiracy, surely the conspirators were acting in a manner singularly open and unconcealed. Here was a world-wide notice, six years before 1873, that the principal nations of the world, including the United States, were unanimously in favor of the exclusive gold standard.

Early the next year, January 6, 1868, Senator Sherman introduced a bill in the Senate on "International Coinage," in which were contained provisions for the discontinuance of the silver dollar, for the limitation of silver as legal tender to payments of ten dollars, and for the adoption of the exclusive gold standard. It was a very short bill. The Senate finance committee reported on this bill June 9, 1868. Senator Morgan, of New York, presented the minority report, in which objection was urged to changing the number of grains in the gold dollar, and an argument presented for the use of silver with Asiatic countries. The majority report, presented by Senator Sherman, contains two sentences which throw the most piercing searchlight on American public sentiment of that time. He says: "The United States is the great gold-producing country of the world, now producing more than all other nations combined, and with a capacity for future production almost without limit. * * * The single standard of gold is an American idea, yielded reluctantly by France and other countries, where silver is the chief standard of value." Of these reports five thousand copies were printed for the use of the Senate, and, as Senator Stewart's proportion was seventy-eight copies, it is presumable that he must have learned what the words "gold standard" meant. [Applause.]

On April 25, 1870, the now famous bill, which provided for the demonetization of silver, was transmitted to the Senate by Mr. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury. I cannot devote the time nor will I insult your intelligence in showing that there was absolutely no concealment in the passage of this demonetization act of 1873. The clear facts are that this bill was two years and ten months before Congress; that it

was debated during five sessions; that the debates cover one hundred and forty-eight pages of the Congressional Record; that reports of monetary experts distinctly referring to the silver demonetization were laid before Congress; that in 1873 we had practically been on a gold standard since 1837; that in that year there were Americans in middle life who had never even seen a silver dollar, and that, as the Comptroller of the Currency expressed it in his report of 1876, "the coinage act of 1873 simply registered in the form of a statute what had been really the unwritten law of the land for forty years."

I desire, rather, to call attention to what happened immediately after the passage of the so-called silver demonetization act. It became a law February 12, 1873. The next Congress convened December 1st of the same year. The principal silver leaders, who now declare that they did not know that silver had been demonetized nine months before, were members of that Forty-third Congress. Mr. Bland was in the House; Messrs. Jones and Stewart were members of the Senate. If the demonetization act was a conspiracy, it would seem natural that the conspirators would keep very "mum" on the subject. Yet immediately upon the assembling of Congress there was distributed the report of the Director of the Mint, dated November 1, 1873, in which, under the headline, "History of the Coinage," referring to the act of February 12, he says: "The coinage act, in effect, abolished the silver dollar of 412½ grains troy and declared the gold dollar of 25.8 grains, nine-tenths fine, the unit of value, and thus legally established gold as the sole standard or measure of value." Again, under the heading, in large capital letters, "Gold the Standard or Measure of Value; Silver Subsidiary," speaking of the experience with silver, he says: "In view of the foregoing facts, it is evident that Congress acted wisely in establishing gold as the sole standard of value." Not a word of protest from the silver triumvirate! Not an exclamation of surprise! [Applause.]

On December 1, 1873, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Richardson, transmitted his report, in which, speaking of redeeming the worn silver coins, he says: "This is done in other countries which, like ours, have adopted the gold standard and demonetized silver." Again no protest! It must be remembered that this Forty-third Congress was passionately interested in the subjects of currency and finance. The questions which agitated the public mind were the resumption of specie payments, free banking and greenback inflation. The debates covered hundreds of pages. No one can read them without realizing that, beyond question, every one in Congress was fully informed as to our monetary basis. On December 18, 1873, Senator Morton, of Indiana, speaking of the resumption of specie payments, said: "I recognize gold as the standard of value that we are bound to come back to." On January 13, 1874, Senator Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, said: "The world standard of value is gold, and every Senator knows it." On January 14th Senator Schurz said: "The inscription of the legal tender note is: 'The United States will pay to the bearer one dollar.' We all agree that it means one dollar in gold coin of the United States." On January 16th the arch-conspirator, Senator Sherman, said: "At the Paris Monetary

Congress, held in 1867, which I had the honor to attend, the delegates of twenty nations represented agreed to recommend gold alone as the standard of value. The United States and nearly all the commercial nations have adopted this standard."

Is it reasonable to suppose that, in the face of such reports and speeches, a live man could have occupied his seat in the House or Senate of that year without knowing that silver had been demonetized? And when such men tell us that they did not discover it until some years thereafter, are we not prompted to lose all patience and to exclaim, with Falstaff, "Lord, Lord, how this world is given to lying!" [Applause.]

But now let me quote very briefly from the remarkable speeches of Senators Stewart and Jones. As early as January 13, 1874, Mr. Stewart said: "There is nothing so satisfactory as the real measure of value—gold." February 20th he says: "Gold is the universal standard of the world. Every one knows what a dollar in gold is worth." On June 11, 1874, referring, doubtless, to the Paris conference, he says: "You must come to the same conclusion that all other people have, that gold is recognized as the universal standard of value." On April 1, 1874, Senator Jones said: "I believe the sooner we come down to a purely gold standard the better it will be for the country. Did any country ever accumulate wealth, achieve greatness or attain high civilization without a standard of value? And what but gold could be that standard? * * * Gold is so exact a measure of human effort that when it is exclusively used as money it teaches the very habit of honesty." And so on, in golden rhapsody, paragraph after paragraph!

Two years passed by. The Forty-fourth Congress convened. On April 24 and 25, 1876, Senator Jones delivered a speech in the Senate covering thirty pages of the Congressional Record. It was the most intense plea for the free and unlimited coinage of silver. That speech is the silver Koran from which the faithful have quoted ever since. It shows a startling transformation in the opinions of Senator Jones. He says: "So far as steadiness is concerned, gold does not deserve to be used as money at all. * * * And yet this widely-fluctuating, ruinously unsteady metal is what the fledglings of political economy, the charlatans of monetary conventions and the numerous dupes of Lombard street would divorce from its natural complement, silver, and have for a sole standard of value." Please take note that he makes no charge of a "conspiracy" of 1873. He says it was "a wrong committed, no doubt, unwittingly. It was a mere caprice of legislation."

WHO THE MEN WERE.

That speech gave birth to the silver question. Mr. Stewart was not a member of the Senate at the time, but, as evidenced subsequently, he endorsed every word of that speech. Is it not self-evident that something must have happened in those two years, between April, 1874, and April, 1876, which touched these two men very closely, in order to have produced such a revolution in their opinions? What was it? Who were these men? They were both Senators from Nevada. William M.

Stewart was the paid attorney of the principal owners of the Comstock mines. His professional income was estimated at $200,000. The leading journal of Nevada said of him: "He was endowed by nature with a faculty of imposing the sublimest absurdities upon juries as pure and spotless truth." John P. Jones had been the superintendent of the Crown Point mine, located on the Comstock lode. In 1870 the stock of that mine was selling from $2 to $7 per share. Mr. Jones and a Mr. Hayward bought in the controlling interest. By May, 1871, they owned over five-sixths of the entire capital stock. The mine had suddenly "struck it rich," and by May, 1872, the shares had risen to a market price of $1,825 per share. By the end of 1875 the Crown Point had netted over $11,500,000. But a change was coming over many of these "bonanza" mines. Some of the ore bodies were being exhausted. The Crown Point produced $4,000,000 less in 1875 than in 1874. Before the close of that year the market value of the stock had fallen to $21. During the same period, however, another ominous change was preparing. These mines were rich in silver. The silver product of the Crown Point mine for 1874 was over $4,000,000. The value of the silver product of the State of Nevada had risen from $17,000,000 in 1870 to $28,000,000 in 1875. The Nevada gold production in 1875 was only $12,000,000. In April, 1874, when Mr. Jones made his enthusiastic gold-standard speech, silver was still worth $1.29 an ounce. It vacillated somewhat, but at the close of the year its price still stood at $1.28. In 1875 the price had declined very slowly to an average of $1.24 per ounce; but in the first months of 1876 the price of silver plunged downward at a rate which had been unparalleled in modern times. By March, 1876, the ounce price had declined to $1.10. That price represented a decline of over 14 per cent.—an annual loss to the Crown Point mine of over $500,000, based on the production of 1874, and an annual loss to the Nevada mine-owners of over $4,000,000. Of twenty mines on the Comstock lode, which had paid over $47,000,000 in dividends, not one—including the Crown Point—paid a dividend after April, 1876; and it was in that very month that the great silver speech of Senator Jones was delivered.

Is it not as clear as noon-day that this American political silver child was born in the Comstock bed and that it was begotten by greed and selfish rapacity? [Applause.]

I would not accuse these gentlemen of the slightest lack of sincerity, but, as Mr. Bryan so aptly expressed it in his New York speech: "So long as human nature remains as it is, there will always be danger, more or less restrained by public opinion or legal enactment, that those who see a pecuniary profit for themselves in certain conditions may yield to the temptation to bring about those conditions."

WHO BECAME THE GODFATHER?

Now that this ill-begotten silver child is born, who became its godfather? In December, 1873, there had come into Congress from the State of Missouri, a man perfectly honest, perfectly respectable, perfectly sincere, but the caliber of whose brain, most unfortunately for his country, was better fitted for hayseed calculations than for the

problems of finance. That man was Richard P. Bland. Future generations will marvel that such a man was so potent in the financial legislation of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As an index of his financial profundity, I quote an economic dictum pronounced by him in Congress about six years ago (June 6, 1890). He says: "One of the great functions of money is to keep up prices. When, therefore, you double the amount of wealth in a country, you must, in order to keep up the prices, double also the circulating medium." What a revelation to political economists! [Applause.]

The month of March, 1874, was only thirteen months after the passage of the demonetization act. The price of silver still stood at the ratio of 16 to 1; therefore, no evils could as yet have come from that act. The silver question, as you remember, was not born until two years later. On March 18, 1874, Mr. Bland addressed the House. I should like to call the attention of every farmer in the United States to this speech, delivered when silver was still worth $1.29 an ounce. He said: "Notwithstanding heaven has smiled upon the agricultural portion of the country, rains have fallen and the radiant sun has ripened year after year rich and abundant harvests, yet the people have become poorer, money scarcer and times harder than ever before." The farmers of the United States are reminded that in this year of grace 1896 Mr. Bland is telling them that, owing to the fall in the value of silver, it is the competition of free-silver countries which is depressing the prices of their products. On June 4, 1874, when an ounce of silver still stood at $1.29, Mr. Bland said: "You have by an unexampled contraction of the currency reduced the value of the agricultural land and produce one-half in the last eight years. * * * While you have reduced in value all on earth the farmer produces at least one-half, you have not reduced his debts one cent. His lands have come down, his cattle and produce came down, his currency taken away, but his mortgages and debts of all kinds remain standing according to the amount of the contract." What Mr. Bland stood for was inflation of the currency. It was into this peculiar brain that in 1876 was inoculated the silver virus by the speech of Senator Jones, and behold! the godfather of the silver child had been found.

In July, 1876, Mr. Bland introduced a free-coinage bill, and in the next two years the question was eagerly debated. Many men clearly recognized its pernicious character. In the summer of 1876, when silver was worth $1.13 an ounce, General Garfield, discussing free coinage, said in the House: "I have never known any proposition that contained as many of the essential elements of vast rascality or colossal swindling as this." In February, 1878, Mr. Blaine said: "The free coinage of a dollar containing 412½ grains of silver is an undue and unfair advantage which the government has no right to give to the owner of silver bullion, and which defrauds the man who is forced to take the dollar." But the man who most clearly characterized the influences at work, and whose words are singularly appropriate to-day, was Congressman Blair, of New Hampshire, who, in January, 1878, said in the House: "The advocates of irredeemable money having no in-

trinsic or commodity value are very numerous and powerful. The silver movement is one side-show on their program. The attempt to repeal the resumption act is another. In the management of these subsidiary exhibitions they have secured the service of many upright men, who do not quite see the nefarious nature of the great humbug which they accompany, and to which they lend an unfortunate degree of character and prostituted respectability."

It must be remembered that the first free-coinage bill was introduced at a time very similar to our own. There had been a panic three years before. The community had not recovered from its effects. Everybody felt that something was wrong. Many believed that any change must be for the better. Panics are the hotbeds of financial delusions. Men were weak. Moral courage was lacking. The Bland-bill compromise was agreed to. President Hayes vetoed it and said in his message: "A currency worth less than it purports to be will in the end defraud not only creditors, but all who are engaged in legitimate business, and none more surely than those who are dependent on their daily labor for their daily bread."

SILVER POISONING.

The bill was passed over his veto and became a law February 28, 1878. The silver poison then began to be forcibly injected into our financial system. The dose was small—only $2,000,000 worth per month. Many poisons taken in small doses act stimulatingly at first. The following year, 1879, specie payments were resumed. The American dollar, which had been an eighty-seven-cent dollar in 1873, was again, after seventeen years, a full one-hundred-cent dollar. Trade revived. American enterprise and energy, again unfettered, produced wealth in magic profusion. For four years our crops were abundant. European crops were light. Our exports swelled and a flood of gold poured into the country. The silver men taunted their opponents who had prophesied that silver coinage would drive out gold. Even Mr. Bland is happy. On March 31, 1884, he said in the House: "From the time that we began the coinage of silver, confidence took the place of distrust, prosperity that of adversity, and since that time (please mark this!) we have, probably since the beginning of our government, never been more prosperous." Let us hope that at that time the farmer was enabled to pay up his back debts and start anew!

Two years again passed by. The outlook was not quite so rosy. The amount of silver poison in our financial system had been slowly but constantly growing larger. The government dues began to be paid more in greenbacks and less in gold. On April 7, 1886, Mr. Bland, who only two years before had lauded the exhilarating influence of silver coinage, breaks out in the House: "There are a million of men out of employment in this country, because there is not sufficient money among the people to employ them." * * * "We have the awful spectacle of millions starving and naked in the midst of plenty." * * * "Of all the rascally wrongs perpetrated upon our people, this limited coinage is the most insidious because of its apparent plausibility."

The silver poison had begun to undermine our monetary system and the cure offered was poison in larger doses. In 1890, by another weak-kneed compromise, the government was compelled to increase its purchases of silver to 4,500,000 ounces per month. In the twelve years preceding, over 291,000,000 ounces of silver had been forced into our financial system. It had finally become thoroughly saturated with this metallic poison. Far-seeing economists foretold the inevitable. As early as August, 1890, Mr. Giffen, the English economist, wrote: "The moment it is seen that the promise to give the people of the United States both gold and silver as a standard cannot be kept, there will assuredly be a new agitation, and probably a panic."

Our exports were enormous. The balance of trade in 1892 was $200,000,000 in our favor, but it brought us no prosperity. The foreign countries, suspicious of our financial future, balanced their accounts, not with gold, but with American securities, which they feared to retain. In the three years, 1891, 1892 and 1893, over $156,000,000 of gold were exported. Our own people began to hoard it. In the spring of 1893, for the first time in fifteen years, the treasury gold reserve fell below $100,000,000. The ratio of silver to gold in our treasury, which had only been 21 per cent. in 1878, had grown to 173 per cent. The fear of a silver basis suddenly spread, and the ruinous panic of 1893 was upon us. "The mills of the gods grind slowly." It had taken fifteen years to make good the prophecies of danger resulting from our silver policy.

THE PRESENT SITUATION.

We have had six years of constant business strain and insecurity. We have had three years of the most acute business distress. Tens of thousands of men have been ruined. Want and care have invaded countless American homes. Our poor, distracted nation, which should be resounding with the voices of gladness and prosperity, has been plunged into the depths of dumb despair. And now, after all this sad experience with the limited coinage of silver, this nation is asked to embark into the bottomless sea of free and unlimited coinage. The same original influences persist—selfish personal interest on the one hand, inflation on the other. Some men, intelligent and sincere, but sentimental and emotional, have joined the silver ranks and are fighting, as they think, the battle of humanity. To the student of history this is not strange. There never was a widespread unrighteous cause that was not bolstered up by men who were intelligent, sincere and humane. The men who for centuries lit up Europe with the fires of burning witches, the judges who condemned Huss and Zwingli, the priests who scourged society with the horrors of the Inquisition, all sincerely believed that they were working for the untimate welfare of humanity. [Applause.] Our brethren of the South who plunged this country into that fratricidal war, in which hundreds of thousands of brave lives and billions of treasure were sacrificed, felt confident that they were waging the supreme battle of self-government and of human liberty. [Applause.]

We are told that we need a "free and independent" policy of finance. Fellow-citizens, that, unfortunately, is the very thing that was forced upon us in 1878. [Applause.] Not another one of the leading nations was brainless enough to re-embark in the liberal purchases of silver. [Applause.] We alone adopted "a free and independent financial policy"—and we are bitterly paying for it to-day. [Applause.] We were silver poisoned for fifteen years, and we have not yet recovered from its baneful effects.

They assure us that prices have fallen since 1873 because the primary money of the world has been reduced by one-half. In the twenty-two years from 1873 to 1895 the world produced three times as much silver as in the twenty-two years from 1851 to 1873. What became of it? The statistics show that since 1873, deducting recoinages, there has been injected into the currencies of the world over $2,440,000,000 of silver, all of it, we are constantly reminded, circulating at a par of 16 to 1, or even higher. In other words, since 1873 there has been added to the silver coinage of the world more silver than the entire world production of silver for sixty-eight years before 1873. Verily, that does not seem like a cutting down of the primary metals! [Applause.]

Despite the tremendous fall in the price of silver, its production is increasing with every year. In 1895 the world produced 5 per cent. more silver than in 1894, 60 per cent. more than in 1888, and nearly 300 per cent. more than in 1873. The increase of gold production is now proceeding even more rapidly, and in 1895 the gold output exceeded by 4 per cent. the combined gold and silver production of 1873.

THE FARMER.

They tell us that the gold standard has been crushing the farmer and the wage-earner. From 1880 to 1890 our population increased 24 per cent., but the values of our farms in those ten years increased three thousand million dollars, or 30 per cent.; and the value of live stock on farms, which is one of the tests of agricultural prosperity, had risen from one and a half billions to two and one-fifth billions, or 47 per cent. If farming has been so utterly unprofitable, it is exceedingly strange that in the twenty years from 1870 to 1890 the improved acreage of farms in the United States has risen from 188,000,000 to 357,000,000, nearly 90 per cent. From 1880 to 1890 the number of dwellings in the United States increased 27 per cent., or 3 per cent. more than population. But, say these calamity howlers, "See how tremendously the mortgages have increased." That is indisputable. Yet it might astound some Western economists to be informed that mortgages increase in times of prosperity and decrease in times of adversity. In the decade from 1880 to 1890 the mortgage indebtedness of Colorado increased nearly 500 per cent., whereas that of Nevada decreased 19 per cent. That would be proof that in those years Colorado was making giant strides in prosperity, and that Nevada was going down hill. Sixty-six per cent. of our farmers own their farms, and of these 72 per cent. have no mortgage debt. In fact, the mortgage debtor for whom the silver men have shed

so many tears does not seem to live principally in the West or South. The statistics of 1890 show that the mortgage indebtedness of the State of New York alone is three times as large as the mortgage debt of the entire South, four times as large as the mortgage debt of the Rocky mountain and Pacific coast regions, and nearly one and three-quarter times as large as the combined mortgage indebtedness of the entire South, the entire Rocky mountain region and the entire Pacific coast region.

MORE MONEY.

It is true that the decline in prices of farm products since 1890 has been very marked. Let any farmer talk to the merchant in the nearest city and he will learn that there has been an equivalent decline in the prices of all other goods. The immediate influence has been the distrustful financial policy since 1890, culminating in the panic of 1893. The home market, both of the farmer and the manufacturer, has been stricken with palsy. The cause will be found the same for all. The silver men state as one cause that we need more money in circulation. On the 1st of July of this year we had in circulation $22.55 per capita, which is within ten cents per capita of the circulation of 1884, which, as you remember, Mr. Bland said was one of the most prosperous years in the history of the nation; and it is $8.70, or 63 per cent. per capita more than the circulation of 1860, which was also a very prosperous year. And yet money is tight, very tight. Why so? If we compare the national bank statements of July, 1896, with July, 1892, we see that although the deposits have increased $104,000,000 the loans have decreased $46,000,000; and if we add to this the showing as presented even in 1895 by the State banks, loan and trust companies and savings banks, we find that although the combined deposits increased $205,000,000 the total loans have decreased $175,000,000. That is why money is tight and why times are bad. It is not caused by the gold standard, but by dread of the silver standard. Financial distrust produces a contraction of credit, and the contraction of credit produces a condition which justifies increasing financial distrust. If these $175,000,000 and more, by which the bankable loans of this country have been contracted, had been put in circulation, they would in the cumulative reciprocity of exchanges have added billions to the total business of the country. The clearing houses of our sixty-two principal cities showed a volume of exchanges for 1892 approximating $61,000,000,000. These same clearing houses, plus those of sixteen additional cities, for 1895 show a decrease in exchanges of $10,000,000,000. If now we add a proportionate reduction for the exchanges of the smaller cities and for all the internal exchanges of each bank, we are far within the mark in stating that the lack of financial trust and confidence, caused absolutely by our mad silver policy, has, as compared with 1892, effected a reduction of exchanges between man and man in our country for the year 1895 of $16,000,000,000, or over $50,000,000 for every working day in the year. How truly Daniel Webster said: "Credit is the vital air of the system of modern commerce. It has done more, a thousand times more, to enrich nations than all the mines of all the world."

Within this very week two prominent bankers of Colorado have assured me that they would at once loan out 25 per cent. more of their deposits if they were absolutely sure of Bryan's defeat. The same feeling pervades the whole country. A loosening of credit of even 10 per cent. of the combined banking deposits would at once throw over $450,000,000 into circulation. Our country has plenty of money, but it suffers from the paralysis of credit. The patient stricken with pneumonia has plenty of blood, but it does not contain sufficient oxygen. Credit is the oxygen necessary for the life blood of monetary circulation. In the last five years my heart has bled with untold pity to see, in my own State of Colorado, man after man, of the most energetic, the most enterprising, the most public-spirited of our citizens, driven into bankruptcy, simply because with limited vision they have, with others, persisted in the agitation of an economic policy which has destroyed public confidence and credit, and has swept them to financial ruin.

This silver poison has affected our business relations externally as well as internally. The nations look upon us with suspicion. Our securities are thrown back on us and our gold drained from the country. Our foreign trade is diminishing. The world hesitates to do business with a nation which threatens to depreciate its money standard. Compared with 1892, our exports for 1895 had decreased $223,000,000, or over 27½ per cent. These are the malign influences which are operating against the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant and every American citizen. [Applause.]

MAINTENANCE OF THE RATIO.

The silver prophets predicted that the Bland bill would advance the price of silver. It did not. Then they told us that the Sherman law would bring silver to a par with gold. It did not. Now they tell us that unlimited silver coinage would make "silver bullion worth $1.29 per ounce in gold throughout the world." Let us reason. In 1792 the United States said: "We will, by law, put the ratio of silver at 15 to 1, or at nearly $1.38 per ounce." That was approximately what silver bullion was worth. Every mint in the world was open to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, and yet that price did not maintain itself for a single year. At present the world's total stock of silver is about 8,000,000,000 ounces. That, as bullion, is to-day worth about 66 cents an ounce, has a value of five and one-quarter billion dollars. And yet, although the mint of every advanced nation is closed to unlimited silver, we are gravely informed that a congressional law, plus a stroke of Mr. Bryan's pen, will raise the value of that stock of silver 95 per cent. and add over $5,000,000,000 to its value. Miraculous power! The command of Joshua, "Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon!" shrinks in comparison. [Applause.] In his New York address Mr. Bryan justifies the position as follows: "Any purchaser who stands ready to take the entire supply of any given article at a certain price can prevent that article from falling below that price. So the government can fix a price for gold and silver by creating a demand greater than the supply."

This shows the profoundest misconception of the whole question. Under free silver coinage, how will the government create a demand for silver? It will not be compelled to buy any for itself, and our treasury already holds $496,000,000 worth of silver dollars and silver bullion—which is about $400,000,000 worth more than it actually needs. Under free coinage the government would not be forced to purchase a single ounce of silver. If silver should advance to $1.29 and steadily maintain that price, the demand would actually slacken. The present great Asiatic demand for silver exists because the merchants and manufacturers of those countries can buy silver cheap. When the Sherman law temporarily advanced the price of silver in the year from June 30, 1890, to 1891, our exports of silver at once fell off from thirteen millions to four millions.

Nor, under such a law, could the government fix the price of silver as related to gold. It would simply say in effect: "Bring all your silver to the mint and we will stamp every 412½ grains of it 'one dollar.' We cannot compel anyone to give you a gold dollar for it. We cannot compel anyone to give you a gold dollar's worth of merchandise for it. We cannot fix its value in exchange. If that dollar buys less of goods, we cannot help it. We are trying 'a free and independent financial policy,' and, as the legend on the dollar reads, 'In God We Trust.' If you owe a dollar, however, whether to the creditor who trusted you, to the depositor who put it in your bank, or to the laborer who has given you of his strength and skill—him we will compel, even if the dollar should sink to fifty cents in value, to accept it in full payment."

At the advanced price there would be no pressure to buy silver, but there would come an enormous pressure to sell. Every nation in the world would clearly understand that the artificial advance in price could not be maintained, and there would be a feverish competition to hurry silver here. Our profound silver economists reply that every one would be compelled to take something away for the silver. This is the misfortune. They would take securities and commodities, and we would have the silver. But we are not laboring for silver. We cannot eat silver, nor can we build houses of it, nor can we clothe ourselves with it. It is food, shelter and clothing that man principally works for, and the precious metals are mere tools to that end. [Applause.]

THE BEST CUSTOMERS.

Another branch of our silver friends says: "Even if the ratio cannot be maintained and we drift to a silver standard, we shall have a brilliant future, because we shall have a par exchange with silver-using countries." Which is the best trade of the world? That with Europe, or with Asia and South America? In the one hundred years from 1793 to 1892, inclusive, we sold to Europe twenty billions of merchandise, and to all the others countries in the world six billions. In 1793 we sold to Europe only 50 per cent. more than to all the other nations. Now we sell Europe nearly 500 per cent. more. The silver men invite us to risk the loss of business with rich, solvent customers in the hope of in-

creasing trade with the slums. If a silver basis would be such a help to increased trade with silver-using countries, pray inform us why the two most intelligent South American nations, Chili and Costa Rica, surrounded as they are with silver-standard countries, have within this very year changed to a gold basis? [Applause.]

There is no salvation in their proposed financial experiment. It rests on a mental delusion. It is poisoning the fountains of national honesty. It tempts and corrupts by the hope of despoiling the creditor. It points to the degradation of public faith. If I had to be crucified, I should prefer a cross of gold rather than the cross of silver with the infernal fires of repudiation and of dishonesty flaming underneath. [Applause.] There has been no crucifixion of mankind. Since 1873 the deposits in our financial institutions, excluding savings banks, have risen from $732,000,000 to the enormous sum of $2,945,000,000. In these same years the deposits in our savings banks have increased a thousand million dollars, and the assets of our building and loan associations have risen to over $600,000,000. The latter are the depositories of our wage-earners, and the growing deposits in these institutions show the effects of the increase of wages in our country, which, since 1860, despite the shortening of the hours of labor, have advanced over 60 per cent. Since 1860 population increased 91 per cent., and the national wealth, despite the ravages of the rebellion, increased from $16,000,000,000 to $65,000,000,000, a gain of 302 per cent. Do not these incontrovertible statistics show rather the transfiguration of mankind under the uplifting influences of civil and religious liberty? [Applause.]

INTELLECTUAL ASTIGMATISM.

It is sometimes difficult to understand why the same facts presented to intelligent minds do not lead to the same conclusions. Have you ever seen a patient examined for astigmatism? The oculist places before the patient a chart with converging lines. He asks the patient to look at line after line. The patient sees perfectly. Suddenly he comes to a line or lines which he cannot see. He has his eyes wide open. He is honestly trying to see. But he cannot. Nature has denied him the power. I maintain that there is such a thing as intellectual astigmatism —a condition of the mind which renders it impossible for the individual to see certain lines of thought and fact in their true relation. That is what the silver men are suffering from. [Applause.] You understand, of course, that when intellectual astigmatism becomes abnormal, we put the patient in an asylum. The silver men, however, may retort in all fairness that we are the intellectual astigmatics. So the inmates of an asylum may lean out of the windows and accuse the passers-by of being the ones mentally afflicted. [Applause.] Who shall decide? The doctors, of course. And how do the financial doctors agree on the question of silver? With one single exception, there is not a political economist of standing in the wide world; there is not a single man who was ever Secretary of our treasury, Comptroller of our currency, or Director of our mint; there is not one out of a thousand of the men

whose business compels some acquaintance with the principles of finance —I mean the bankers of this and every other country—who says that the United States would be financially safe in undertaking alone the unlimited coinage of silver. [Applause.]

I have no fears as to the result of this election. Its outcome will teach the onlooking nations that the crown of over one hundred years of political life under republican institutions shall not be the national impairment of debt obligations; and it will be held up as a warning to our children and our children's children that a public policy which is tainted with but a breath of dishonesty will be indignantly spurned by this proud American people. I have the deepest sympathy with many of the "free-silver" adherents. They are my neighbors. I am bound to them by my interests, my associations and my affections. They are honest and sincere men. They love their country and would not willingly plunge it into destruction. But they have been deluded and misled. "The best friend of truth is time," and as time rolls on these, our misguided fellow-citizens, will yet be grateful to those who helped to check them in their mad rush to self-destruction; they will yet thank God for the defeat which will overwhelm them in November; and they will bless us who are assembled in Indianapolis this day, and who, by the courageous, manly and patriotic influences of this Convention, will make that defeat inevitable. [Great applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor of introducing to you as the next speaker, Hon. David W. Lawler, of Minneapolis.

HON. DAVID W. LAWLER, of Minneapolis, spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow-Democrats [applause] —A message was pronounced this afternoon by a golden tongue—a message of good tidings from the golden coast of the Pacific ocean. [Applause.] I am here to-night commissioned by the stalwart Democracy of the Northwest to say to you that the fires of patriotism are burning bright to-night along the mountain border and where the north star shines upon the fair commonwealth of Minnesota [applause] the Democratic party still lives and the principles of Thomas Jefferson are the guiding, vital doctrines in the hearts and lives of men. When the historian, of whom your Temporary Chairman spoke, shall write in the future the political history of the end of the nineteenth century, although on one page he shall tell of the debasement at Chicago, on another and a brighter page he will write of the glories and the splendor of Indianapolis. [Applause.] It is not necessary, because it has been done in tongue more eloquent than which has never spoken the English language, to recite the deep damnation of Chicago. [Applause.] It came like lightning out of a clear sky to the gallant Democracy of the Northwest. We had been taught from our political childhood that

there were certain tenets in the Democratic faith which were as rock-ribbed and ancient as the hills, and which should last, and die only with the death of creation itself. We have been taught that Democracy stood for national honor, for the payment of the national or the private debt in dollars worth a hundred cents on the dollar [applause]; and from the clear, cold atmosphere of our country, when the Chicago platform was announced to a startled people, we sent word back to the traitorous representatives who betrayed us in that city: You shall not cut in two the dollar or the loaf of bread of the American laborer [applause]; you shall not cut in two the tuition of the child, the savings of the widow, the pension of the veteran, nor the honor of the American people and the American name. [Applause.]

We had been taught that the judicial institutions of all the great races which speak the English tongue had for more than two hundred years of a glorious history been the only safeguards for the individual against the oppression of the ruler, be he lawless mob or be he titled monarch; and when the Supreme Court of the United States, in the language of a political platform, was threatened with political debauch, we said: "You are no longer Democrats, and we will follow the old flag itself, no matter where it may lead." [Applause.]

We had been taught to reverence the great leaders and the great founders of our party from Jefferson down to Tilden; and when they denied the common courtesy of common honesty to the greatest of all the Presidents who sat in the chair since Abraham Lincoln left it by the assassin's bullet, we said, you are no longer Democrats; we will follow the teachings and the instructions of Grover Cleveland. [Applause.]

When they say to us that we are disloyal to the traditions of our fathers and to the teachings of our faith, we say that there are two monsters more horrible than that painted by the pencil of Milton as they squatted at the gates of hell, and these two monsters of Populism and Paternalism are threatening the fair form of the genius Democracy; and that against them we draw the sword of honor and of pariotism. [Applause.] Embarked in this great cause, there can be no such end as defeat. No matter what vote may be enrolled for the ticket and for the platform which shall be chosen and constructed by this Convention, the end of this campaign for those who sit here and for the great organization of our love can only be that of a glorious victory; and while it may be true that the great principles of Democracy for which we stand in this Convention may be those of a minority party, in the fullness of God's good time there will come another day, another convention, and another election, when the principles for which we stand now shall be ratified by the American people [applause]; and in the glory of that future time, when the great party of our love shall once more sit enthroned in all the people's hearts, and with its benign sway shall guide again the destinies of this proud people—in that glorious day when men shall come together to go over the proud pages of American history and shall mention the names of those who have done much and well for their country and for their flag, the men who

stood in the gap in 1896 will be written down by their children and by their children's children as not among the least of those whose names are upon the roll of the great army of American patriots. [Great applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Fellow-citizens, in the darkest hours of our political history there was one State in the Union that never wandered from its allegiance. Whatever else might be the faith of our party in those places which had been its stronghold, we looked with confidence to untiring, indomitable, always constant New Jersey. Now we reveal no political secret—as you will naturally imagine, I am somewhat familiar with New Jersey; I live close by its borders, and I believe I am not saying too much when I declare that nine-tenths of New Jersey get their living from New York—I am revealing no political secrets when I say that New Jersey will not give its electoral vote this fall to the nominees of the Chicago convention. [Applause.] You would rather hear that, I imagine, from the lips of one of its own sons; and I have great pleasure in introducing to you one of the most brilliant and conspicuous Democrats of New Jersey, in the person of Hon. C. F. Lewis, who will now address you.

HON. C. F. LEWIS, of New Jersey, spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen—I am most happy to confirm the assertion of our president. We have no apprehension in New Jersey that our electoral votes will be given to Bryan and Watson [laughter and applause], nor to any tail of the dragon. But, my friends, I venture to go farther. It seems to me that some of us who are here to-night, while we feel the encouragement of this occasion, while we are uplifted by the sympathy and the enthusiasm of those around us, have not been ready to appreciate the fact that this sympathy, this enthusiasm, is not limited to-night to the walls of this building, is not limited to-night to the streets and homes of this city, is not limited to-night to the State of Indiana, but is felt thrilling and throbbing through the length and breadth of our common country. [Applause.]

I find proofs of this on every hand, and some have come to me since I have taken my seat among you to-night—proofs which show that this political movement of ours, which had its origin, as it were, but yesterday, and which has already taken, obviously and before our eyes, the most splendid form which any political movement in the history of the world ever took in so short a time [applause], is not limited by the boundaries of our vision. Why, have you heard the news from the Democratic convention in New Hampshire to-day; have you heard

how, when the majority of that convention endeavored, in true Bryan and Watson style, to howl down the voice of sound money, that gallant and intrepid and true Democrat, Harry Bingham, rose to his feet, marched out of the convention, and on the spur of the moment, without waiting for regularity, without waiting for permission from their constituents, without waiting for anything but the knowledge of their consciences and of Democratic principles, eighty-nine out of two hundred and twenty-five delegates followed him out of the door. [Applause.]

Why is it that on the day of the meeting of this Indianapolis Convention, this first great strike for Democratic principles occurs in that grand old State? I tell you, Mr. President, it is because we have here to-day—and it is known throughout the country that we have a voice to declare Democratic principles for the first time in this campaign—we have here a free and untrammeled expression of the principles of the fathers, of the traditions of the fathers.

Now, it is well for us to recur at times to first principles, to look at what the Democratic idea is in all its simplicity. We are familiar with it, and we love to dwell upon it, and turn it as a sweet morsel under our tongue, to rest upon it with all its richness in our minds, to feed upon it, and so strengthen our aspirations and our souls. What is the Democratic idea? It is the conception of an organized society, whose whole power shall be directed for the power and enforcement of equal rights among all its citizens. That is the whole of the Democratic creed. It is developed in a thousand forms. It is applied in a thousand ways. The wisdom of our fathers, the wisdom of its administrators in the government of the United States has applied it to a thousand questions in our history, amid the ever-growing greatness and prosperity of the country, until this principle has brought us to the position we hold to-day, of foremost nation of the world. But it is still the same Democratic principle—a government organized to bring equal rights home and confer them upon every citizen. Now, what is the opposite principle to this? You must consider the effect of the enforcement of this principle. It is simply this: that all laws, all those which impose taxes as well as those which enforce penalties, and all other statutes of the Republic, shall be directed to produce a state of society in which property shall be the reward of service to mankind; in which money or property shall be acquired by earning it, and not in any other way; in which every man in the community shall have an equal right to earn his living and to acquire property and money. What is the opposite idea? The opposite idea is that money and property shall be given to certain persons, or to particular classes, by the agency of legislation. That is the whole of it. It is the protective idea, pure and simple, which is the antithesis and antagonist forever of Democracy. [Applause.] Protection means that money shall be taken from me, from my pocket, and put into the pocket of another man. The Democratic principle is that when I have earned my dollar I shall be able to keep it or to use it at my discretion for my own purposes. [Applause.]

Now, sir, in this canvass we have had one party after another coming out before the country and appealing for the suffrages of citizens, and each of them has declared in its platform a body of principles. Has any one of them before to-day uttered Democratic principles as the basis of its claim? What did the Republican party do at St. Louis? It proclaimed its adherence to the principle of protection—to the principle which we claim is one of injustice and oppression, and one which prevents the honest earning and retention of his earnings by the man who labors to serve society. That party came out with a declaration of principles which we cannot accept. We were prepared to contend against it and fight against it for the control of the government with the Democratic principles and traditions of our fathers, and we turned for help to Chicago, where the Democratic name and the Democratic banner were carried by those whom the party throughout the country had entrusted with the duty of speaking for it. What did they do? We all know what they did. We need not repeat it now, for it has been told you with greater emphasis and in more golden words than I can control. I wish simply to call your attention to this fact, that everything they did was the adoption in an intensified and exaggerated form of the protective principle. It was the betrayal, the abandonment and the defiance of the principles of the Democratic party. [Applause.] They proclaimed there that any man who happened to be the owner of silver, when they came into power, should go to the mint and have its value doubled at the cost of the people of the United States by a lie stamped upon it in the name of our government. [Applause.] Here is the protective principle, pure and simple, but exaggerated far beyond what the Republican party in its wildest dreams has ever thought of advocating. [Applause.] How is it exaggerated? I have looked with diligence at the speeches which the great advocate of free silver, as he calls it, is making throughout the land, and I find that he has one argument—rather, one declaration—which he repeats in every speech, which he makes heard every day, and which I venture to say is the strangest thing in the form of an argument that ever was presented to a civilized nation. It is this which he repeats in a thousand forms: Don't let your legislation be dictated to you by foreign governments! Let the American people govern themselves and reject all laws which it is attempted to force upon them from abroad! What is the meaning of this? If you look at it in its logical effect, if you look at it in connection with his speech, it simply means this, that the scientific conclusions which the experience of the human race has forced upon all the other governments of the earth must be rejected and spurned by us because they had not their origin in our own country. [Applause.]

Carry out this principle to its logical result, and what does it amount to? Scientific men of the United States, beware! You are traitors if you recognize the law of gravitation! Newton was not an American. [Applause.] Christian churches of America, you are traitors if you recognize the goodness and the glory of Jesus Christ, for no one claims that he was an American. [Applause.] Ah, no, but Mr. Bryan means more than this in his dealings with foreign nations. His

domestic policy amounts to a foreign policy, as you will see at once when you remember what his program and principles are with reference to silver coinage. In this very year of grace in which we live there are about two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, at the coinage value of silver bullion, dug out of the earth and thrown upon the markets of the world. Three-fourths of it not by Americans, but by foreigners, most of it from Mexico and from South America. What is Mr. Bryan's policy with regard to these foreigners, and to these foreign nations? It is that Congress shall pass a law inviting them to come and bring their silver to the mint of the United States and have it, for our sole use and benefit, stamped at double its value, in order that it may be paid to the people of the United States at a valuation which it does not bear anywhere else in the world. [Applause.] This is the treatment of foreign nations to which we are invited by the man who proclaims that all truth must be rejected that does not originate among the people of the United States. [Applause.]

But, gentlemen and ladies—for the ladies are as deeply interested in these questions as any of their husbands, their brothers and their sons—we feel that the living destinies of the Republic, the existence of our institutions, depend upon the overthrow of this tide of passion, of sectional prejudice, of socialism and anarchy, which, under the influence of discontent and delusion and the false teaching of demagogues, is threatening to sweep over the country. I shall not attempt to repeat what you have been told so effectually of the necessary consequences of the free coinage of silver as proposed in the Chicago platform. I only want to call your attention to one point which has been too much neglected, which we have forgotten in our platforms and in our speeches generally to bring before the people, simply because the overwhelming disasters which are immediately before us in contemplation of such an end for our country have darkened our eyes to more ultimate consequences; but if you look back into the history of the United States for the last forty years, every philosophical observer will remark one great fact, and that is, that the era of the late war, the war of the rebellion, was the era at which an entire change in the superstructure of the government of the United States began. It is the era from which dates the colossal fortunes which have been the reproach, to a large extent, of our Eastern communities, and to some extent of our Western, among the masses of the people. It was the date at which the era of speculation began, when the fevered, eager desire to get something for nothing, which is the curse of civilization in all countries and has been the especial curse of our own country through the last generation, began to be prominent among us. We find our farmers everywhere complaining that speculation, in grain, for example, is an injury to their business and a reproach to their honest employment. It began practically at that time; and so it is with all the great trusts and combinations, conspiracies and monopolies of the day. They had their origin then; every man who has studied the matter knows that the origin of them, the origin of the spirit of speculation out of which they have grown, was the fluctuating currency which resulted from the suspension of specie

payments and the issue of the greenback [applause], and the overthrow of Democratic doctrine in the control of the currency of the United States. [Great applause.] That was the point from which it all dated, and it has gone on to the pitch that we see now. And how could it be otherwise, when it became obvious to every man in the United States that a single man, if by study he could foresee the value of the currency in its fluctuation to-morrow, could by purchase and sales in the market acquire more property, take more money to his single use in one day than the honest, industrious laborer could acquire in a lifetime? What a temptation it was! What a temptation is such a state of the market to every man! When this is the case, when the currency is fluctuating in value, then there is inevitably a tide of speculation flowing over the land which corrupts the very source of industry, and which makes the desire to obtain property by other means than productive industry and service to society irresistible to the mass of men. [Applause.] This corrupting influence, this overthrow of the moral sense in business affairs, this degradation of the industries of all the land, is the feast to which the platform of the Chicago convention invites us. [Applause.] Why, within four years back the price of silver, the value of it, the exchangeable value in the products of the world, has fluctuated violently to the extent of 50 per cent. of its entire value, sometimes in a day. Fluctuation to such an extent is the strongest temptation to speculation. Put the whole business of the land on that basis, and you turn the whole business of the land into gambling. [Applause.]

Mr. President, after adoption of such a principle as this in the platform, it was fitting, entirely fitting, that it should go on to attack the venerable institutions of our country, the safeguards of our liberties, in its judiciary, as you have heard it so eloquently depicted to-night; it was supremely fitting that it should insult the Democratic President of the United States by repudiating the noblest act in his career, which has also been depicted to us in such terms as we can never forget. [Applause.] Ah, you remember that time. It is not so long ago when it seemed to us as if the foundations of our institutions were trembling, and we were ready before we knew, before we appreciated all the situation, many of us were ready to cry,

> "Ah God, for a man with heart, head, hand,
> Like some of the simple great ones gone
> Forever and ever by,
> One still strong man in a blatant land,
> Whatever they call him, what care I—
> Aristocrat, democrat, autocrat—one
> Who can rule and dare not lie."

We need not have uttered that despairing cry, for in due time, at the moment of greatest need, the man declared himself in the man whom the American people had clothed with the power to suppress disorder and enforce the laws. [Applause.]

I am aware that it was fashionable at Chicago, and is at many other places in the country, to sneer at our President, but the reception which has been given to words spoken of him here encouraged me to utter my

view, which is, and has been for a long time, that we have in him one of the few men in this day in public life who can afford, in the language of Bacon, "disregarding all the current voices of the hour, to bequeath his memory to foreign nations and the next ages." [Great applause.] For, brother Democrats, while the Democratic party is entitled to the gratitude of mankind, and will be inscribed in history as so entitled for a thousand services to this Republic, I can name no service within the lifetime of men now living which it has rendered so great as that of placing our present President in the presidential chair [applause]; and while I am well aware that men differ in their estimates of greatness, and some are ready only to honor and worship the greatness of wisdom, others that of strength, and others believe that all men are much alike, and that nothing but opportunity makes one man more conspicuous than another—but for the union of all the elements of greatness, for wisdom, and strength, and opportunity, I declare that the foremost man in the world to-day is Grover Cleveland. [Great applause.]

Gentlemen, the reception you give to this remark is one that fills my heart with joy. When an intelligent body of American citizens, such as I see before me, can, without dissenting voice, receive a sentiment like this, so in contradiction with what is commonly thought to be the controlling vulgar prejudice of the day, I feel that our principles, our Democratic principles, our principles of securing equal rights for all, are on the way to victory [applause]; I feel that I can point with a swelling heart to that glorious flag over our heads and cry,

"Flag of the heroes, who've left her their glory,
Borne thro' their battle-field's thunder and flame,
Blazoned in song and illumined in story,
Wave over us all who inherit their fame.
Up with our banner bright, sprinkled with starry light,
Spread its fair emblems from mountain to shore,
While thro' the sound and sky
Echoes the Nation's cry,
Union and liberty, one evermore."

The Chairman: Gentlemen, it is a splendid exhibition of the character of this gathering that you greet with such hearty applause sentiments like those we have just listened to. It is a splendid exemplification of the patriotism which animates—the purposes which control this Convention and this assemblage—that we have not only secured upon this platform tonight representatives from every portion of our common country, but that these representatives are the very best products of the localities from which they come. [Applause.] Of course that excludes absolutely the Chairman, who is only here for the purpose of introducing others. [Laughter.] Now we are to hear from the extreme South—the Mississippi

Delta. You will remember that most humorous incident at the Chicago convention when I have recalled it; you will deem that I have not spoken incorrectly in saying that it has been our fortune to secure the better representatives of the better sentiments of the localities from which they come. You remember that gentleman who stood upon the platform and through some fifteen minutes of laughter on the part of the convention, irrigated so copiously, so generously, his somewhat arid wastes of thought in an appeal to sectionalism, and an attempt to awaken the prejudices of one part of the country against the other. I have now the honor of introducing to you a Louisianian of a different and nobler type—a man who speaks for the whole country, and speaks with the voice and inspiration of a Democrat. You will have the pleasure of listening, as I have in presenting, Hon. E. H. Farrar, of Louisiana.

Mr. Farrar, of Louisiana, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—As I am a plain lawyer, and not an orator, I crave leave to present you a written address rather than a conned oration.

I believe there is a delegation here from the South of sufficient size and character to show that the Populistic anaconda that swallowed the Chicago convention has not poured its slime nor fastened its fangs on everybody in our part of the United States. [Applause.]

We claim to represent tens of thousands of Democrats who will not surrender the faith of the fathers, who will not fall down and worship false gods, although set up with all the gorgeous pomp of authority and all the trumpet-blowing and cymbal-clashing of officialism. [Applause.]

We regard the contest into which the American people have plunged as one not merely of the administration of governmental affairs for four years, but as one which puts to every voter the solemn question: "Do you wish this Republic to stand, and to continue to stand, on the corner-stones of justice, of public order and of private right, or do you wish to overthrow our social fabric, to organize injustice, to glorify repudiation, to paralyze the power of the courts, to invade the domain of contract between man and man, and to establish a state socialism at war with the principles of free government and abhorrent to the consciences of freemen?"

This is no mere rhetorical statement. The object of a party is to carry into practical effect the principles set forth in its platform; and we are obliged to presume that the Popocracy (for this I call them, as

they are not entitled to the grand old name of Democracy) intend, if they attain power, to legislate according to their declared principles. What are their declared principles?

First—They virtually declare that in the Federal government lies the power and the duty of issuing legal tender money, which means that it can stamp a rag as a dollar and say to the people, "This is your money; you shall have no other but it."

Second—They attack the financial organization of the nation by pronouncing against all banks of issue, even though that issue is guaranteed by the national faith through the deposit of government bonds as security. They thus propose to destroy this important function of modern banking, and to launch a government of delegated authority, where all powers not expressly granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the people and the States, into an unlimited banking business, which cannot but end, as all other similar experiments have ended, in bankruptcy and ruin. This is not only financial foolishness, but state socialism of the most pronounced type. [Applause.]

Third—They propose to prohibit all men who may wish to exchange their products or their labor for money, or their money for the products and labor of others, from making that exchange freely and according to the essential principles of ownership and of contract. If such contracts are made, they propose to bait and coddle dishonesty by permitting the debtor to solve his contract by giving something different from what he freely obligated himself to give. When that same spirit of Saxon liberty that moved Edward Coke to declare fearlessly, in a despotic age, from the high seat of English justice, that there are things beyond even the supereminent power of the legislature, moves us to protest against this monstrous invasion of private right, they coolly justify themselves by pointing to the act of a Russian despot and a usurping French Emperor.

Fourth—They make three separate assaults on the integrity and authority of the Federal judiciary; first, on their life tenure of office; second, on their power to protect property and the functions of the government by the writ of injunction, and third, on their independence of opinion. If these three assaults should be successful, then that nice adjustment of the checks and balances established in the Constitution, which has been the admiration and wonder of thinking statesmen for a hundred years and more, will be shattered, the great conservative flywheel of our system will either cease to revolve or be made to turn so fitfully as to be a clog and a hindrance, and in lieu of that great and noble government framed by our ancestors with meditation and prayer, in order that it might perpetuate the blessings of liberty and union forever, we shall have licentious laws upheld by servile judges, and shall see the life, limb and property of the citizen lie prone at the mercy of every riotous mob of lawbreakers.

Who hatched this brood of infernalisms and dubbed it Democracy? [Applause.] Who will stand sponsor for this lame, swart, crooked foundling that claims to be the legitimate offspring of Democratic

thought and Democratic sentiment? Who will come before the American people and advocate such doctrines, except the Altgelds and the Tillmans and that sad band of fallen leaders, once in shining harness standing as protagonists in the Democratic hosts, but now, with all their brightness dimmed, taking orders under such captains?

For these reasons alone, apart from the consideration of the money question, no true Democrat can support the Chicago platform and the nominees who stand on it. But all of these revolutionary vagaries are apparently lost to public view in the passionate acclaim of that platform and its supporters for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Here again they come into conflict with ancient party principles and practices. All the founders and all the great leaders of the Democracy during that growing period when its principles were undergoing formulation were for sound money only. [Applause.]

The experience of the nation under the coinage act of 1792, whereby gold was driven out of circulation, and their study of the financial history of the nations of the old world, convinced these leaders, as it convinced the statesmen of England, and at a later period the statesmen of all the civilized nations, that there is no such thing as true bimetallism; that any attempt to establish it leads to alternate metallism, where the one metal drives the other out of circulation, accordingly as its market value changes from its coinage ratio; and that alternate metallism produces contractions of the currency and perturbations in all business affairs, both internal and external.

Being convinced of this fundamental economic truth, which is as absolute and as universal in its operation as the law of gravitation, a Democratic committee of a Democratic Congress in 1834 reported a bill the object of which was to put the finances of this country on a gold basis, and to drive silver out of circulation. That act was adopted, and it received the approval of a Democratic President.

Finding, however, that the operation of the act went too far by also driving out of circulation the silver small change—dimes, quarters and half dollars, which were not true subsidiary money, because coined of full relative value with the silver dollar—a Democratic Congress in 1853 fortified the act of 1834 by stopping the free coinage of silver in such denominations, by giving the government the monopoly of the coinage of subsidiary money, by reducing its legal tender power to five dollars, and by debasing such coin to such an extent that its value as money was worth more than its value as bullion.

These acts so firmly established the financial policy of the United States, and took it so thoroughly out of the sphere of politics, that when the revision act, which subsequently became the so-called crime of 1873, was prepared by a Republican Comptroller of the Currency, under the direction of a Republican Secretary of the Treasury, and submitted to a Republican Congress, the policy was confirmed by statute, and for that statute members voted without distinction of party. When all these acts were passed gold was the cheaper metal at the ratio of

16 to 1. To show what a small part silver played during that period in the finances of the country, there had been coined in our mints between 1792 and 1873 less than $144,000,000 of silver and more than $795,000,000 of gold. Since the act of 1873 the market value of silver has steadily declined, and its production has steadily increased, even in the face of the declining value.

From 1889 to 1895, inclusive, its average production by weight with gold has exceeded 20 to 1, and since 1881 its annual value at the ratio of 16 to 1 has exceeded the gold production without a break in the procession of years. In 1873 the coinage value of the world's production of silver was $81,800,000, and in 1895 it was more than three times that amount, in spite of the notorious fact that large numbers of silver mines are shut down, that only the very richest of the new ones are opened up, that only the fat ores are smelted, and that untold thousands of low grade ores are lying on the mine dumps awaiting a rise in the commercial value of silver. The flood of the white metal that would be turned loose on the markets of the world by any material rise in its commercial value would drown them in its flowing tide, and would drive the price of silver to the lowest point ever known in its history—to a point, in fact, where it would be no longer profitable to produce it, except in very rich mines.

All of the civilized nations of the earth have stopped the free and unlimited coinage of silver, even those nations whose standard is legally bimetallic. The stocks of silver now held by France and the United States, the two principal bimetallic States in population and in wealth, are so large that they are both staggering under the burden, and are both struggling from day to day to prevent themselves from sinking to a monometallic silver basis. Spain and Greece, two other bimetallic countries, have practically succumbed and passed to a silver basis. Russia, with all the power of her autocracy, is preparing to life her people from a silver to a gold standard. Little Chili is making the same attempt. All free coinage countries are to-day on a monometallic silver basis. None of them can carry their bonds or securities at par. None of them use any gold. In all of them the rate of interest for money is higher than in gold countries. In all of them the position of the laboring man is painful and debased.

Standing face to face with all these indisputable laws and facts, the Popocrats wish this country to try the experiment of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1, without the assistance of any of the great commercial nations. Those among them who are both intelligent and dishonest know that this means silver monometallism in the United States, with a silver dollar of daily fluctuating value, or paper exchangeable for it, as the only circulating medium. They understand the operation of Gresham's law as well as we do. They further understand that debased money means a fictitious and disproportionate rise in all prices except the price of labor and personal services. They have heard of the days down in Dixie when it took seventeen hundred dollars to buy a pair of boots; and many of them owe seventeen hundred dol-

lars and have several stray pairs of boots for sale at that price. [Laughter and applause.]

In purpose and in heart these men are nothing more nor less than repudiators, and that is a Latin term for the good old Saxon name of thief. [Applause.] Their object is to pay their own debts and those of the nation in debased silver dollars, like the "blue gowns" that Frederick the Great caused to be circulated in Prussia during the seven years' war and the "calamity money" of Charles of Sweden.

But they attempt to find a salve for their consciences in the assertion that gold has enhanced in value; that it has taken on an unearned increment, increasing thereby the burden of debt, and that it is right and proper to bring it back to the ancient value of silver. The process of reasoning by which that claim is justified is that which established the relation of cause and effect between Tenterden Steeple and the Goodwin Sands in the minds of all the members of the congregation who opposed putting on the steeple. They believed it was a wicked act, and that the Lord would punish it. When the sands began to form and choke up the town harbor, their position was triumphantly demonstrated. Before the steeple there were no sands; after the steeple came the sands; therfore, the steeple caused the sands. [Laughter.] By this process it can easily be proved that the murder of Julius Cæsar was the cause of the discovery of America. [Laughter and applause.]

In logic this is the ancient and worn-out fallacy of post hoc, ergo propter hoc. It appeals strongly, however, to ignorant and prejudiced minds, which mistake one of the necessary conditions of causation for all of the elements of causation. These false reasoners take a list of certain articles and staple products which the progress of invention, the cheapening of freights, the increase in production, the changing habits and tastes of mankind and many other specific causes have made to decline in price since 1877—a date which marked the crest of the wave of one of those periodic rises and falls in prices visible in all the centuries, and which began in 1837. With this list they compare the value of silver, which has also declined for the same good reasons; and from this comparison they draw the conclusion that the value of silver has remained stationary and the value of gold has risen. This argument is of as little value as would be the conclusion of two persons going down in two parallel elevators at the same speed, that they were standing still, and that the house was shooting up to the skies. [Laughter and applause.]

The most conclusive proofs that gold has not increased in value during this period are:

First—That there are very many articles whose value has risen, and not fallen, among them that greatest of all articles that is bought and sold all over the earth—human labor and the compensation of personal services. [Applause.]

Second—That the rae of interest at which all the great borrowers of money—nations, States, cities, towns, railroads and great industrial

enterprises—have been able to refund their old debts and to borrow new gold money has sensibly declined. The same decline is visible in the rate of discount on private loans.

This fable about the rise in gold did not take its origin in this country. It was propounded by Mr. Laveleye, the representative of the French bimetallists, taken up by his confrere, Cernuschi, and adopted by the German Agrarian and the Manchester Spinner bimetallists, of whom Mr. Goschen is the representative. It has been examined by all the great continental political economists—Jannet, Mulhall, Juglar, Leroy-Beaulieu, Neuman-Spallart, Soetbeer, Broch, Pirnez, Raffalowich, Coste and Dalla Volta—and demonstrated to be a pure myth. That it should be reproduced and believed on this side of the ocean was an occurrence to be expected, because bad doctrine, like the cholera, must make the tour of the world before it dies out. [Applause.]

The honest masses of the Popocracy not only believe the foregoing myth, but they also believe something the absurdity of which is still more demonstrable, i. e., that the United States, by certifying under its coinage laws to the weight and fineness of a disc of metal, can double its value as money of ultimate redemption.

Value is not the creation of government stamp. It is created by the desires and necessities of mankind, and is regulated by supply and demand. Silver is a world product, and its value is regulated by the world's supply and demand. Being a world product, it cannot be worth more in the United States than in London, Paris, Berlin and the other great financial centers of the earth. Its present value in all those centers is to-day practically the same, difference of exchange excluded. If it rises in value here, it must rise in value there. If 53 cents of silver becomes worth 100 cents here, it must have the same value there, less exchange. How can the United States add 47 per cent. to the value of all the silver in the world now existing or that may hereafter be produced? Its laws have no authority beyond the territory of this country. The nations of the world to which we sell and from which we buy will not take silver at what our government says it is worth, but only at what their common consent estimates it to be worth. If silver rises in value in the United States and does not rise equally in the world markets, it will all seek this country as long as such difference in price exists, and it will be sold to us for gold and for our products at a gold price. This flood of silver poured into this country will bring the price here down to the level of the common world price, because the supply will exceed the demand, as the United States cannot absorb all the silver in the world, present or future, and because the world will not take it back from us except at the world's value. The world's price will, therefore, ultimately fix the value of silver in this country. There will doubtless be some increase in its value produced by free coinage; but this increase will be as temporary and as disappointing as that which followed the Sherman act of 1890, under which the government bought for coinage purposes 4,500,000 ounces per month. In spite of this enor-

mous so-called demand for silver, and in spite of the confident predictions of the silver Senators, its value, after a spasmodic upward spurt, steadily declined under the act, and the government now stands to lose millions on its purchases. The mere threat of the continued operation of that act created the panic of 1893, and, if continued, it would have driven this country to a silver basis. This result was predicted for this act by M. Claudio Jannet, the great French economist. Fortunately, it was repealed by a Democratic Congress, on the advice of the greatest living Democrat, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States.

These are the reasons that impel all intelligent advocates of bimetallism to insist upon a world-wide agreement as to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. In the absence of such an agreement they admit that no single country can establish such free coinage, and that such a step by a single country will inevitably send such country to an exclusive silver basis. Dr. Arendt, the German bimetallist, has made the published statement that the 16 to 1 experiment in the United States, as now proposed, will set back the course of bimetallism fifty years, because its failure is certain, and because the disaster and suffering brought on this nation by that experiment will confirm the gold standard nations in their convictions. One of the last statements that Cernuschi wrote was that free coinage in the United States meant silver monometallism.

Recognizing the overwhelming force of this argument, the Popocrats turn to spread-eagleism and shout that this country is big and strong enough to swing the world by the tail, and to establish a monetary system of its own, irrespective of all foreign nations.

The financial unity of all civilized society is as close as that of the drops of water in an enclosed lake. Disturbance in one part is communicated to the whole by a fixed law of progression. Financial unwisdom in Argentina, or in Australia, shocks New York and Berlin alike. To quote a modern political economist of the first rank: "One of the strongest proofs of the existence of a natural economic order is the identity of the monetary system at all times among all peoples. The same disturbances have been brought about by the violation of economic laws in regard to money among the Greeks and Romans, as well as among the Chinese and the contemporary Western nations in the middle ages. The reproach brought against capital of being cosmopolitan takes no account, therefore, of one of the finest aspects of the plan of creation, which has bound all men solidarily together in spite of their division into self-governing nations. Bossuet, with his eagle glance, took in the whole range of economic order when he saw in money the symbol of the unity of human society."

The bond of this financial union is exchange, and by means of bills of exchange money and values may be transmitted from one end of the earth to the other. Hence there must be a world-wide basis of exchange, or standard of measurement of value, and an equally world-wide medium of exchange, or means of settling debts so created. This standard and this medium is the world-money, and that world-money

is gold. [Applause.] Government stamp adds nothing to its value. On the contrary, fine bars of gold are worth a premium in international exchange over the same number of grains of gold coined into the money of any nation.

From this financial union, established by the natural laws of economic order and confirmed by the habits and practices of all mankind, the people of the United States can no more escape than they can from the influence of the stars. They must trade with the world in the world's way, or they cannot trade with it at all. [Applause.]

Therefore, those who favor the establishment of an American financial policy different from that of the civilized world must show how we can subvert the order of the ages and force this policy on all other nations, or take the position that we must cease to trade with those nations in the international way. No person outside of a lunatic asylum could favor the cutting off of international commerce. It is the giant source of wealth, of prosperity, of peace, of national well-being, of civilization itself. To check it, to hamper it, to unduly burden it, is an injury to the human race and a crime against society.

This power, therefore, of the United States to adopt its own peculiar financial system and to force it upon the nations of the earth is either warlike or peaceful. Is it proposed to use the power of the sword to compel international acquiescence? Not at all. It is therefore peaceful, and it must operate either by persuasion or by the force of its commercial activity. Is it likely that the Stewarts, and the Tellers, and the Bryans will cross the water and persuade the statesmen of the world? If it is claimed that this country can force acquiescence by her commercial power, then it is asserted that a country with one-sixth of the world's wealth and about one-eighth of its international commerce can dominate and subordinate the world. Her ability for financial domination would be even smaller than for physical conquest.

The men who can believe and act upon such an absurdity as this belong to the same type of men as those who in 1860 passionately declared that one Southerner could whip fifteen Yankees. It cost two million of lives, three thousand millions of dollars and the destruction of two thousand millions of values to convince these persons that they were mistaken. [Applause.] If they should be mistaken a second time, the resulting calamity would be worse than that of the civil war.

I have no time to point out the far-reaching disaster and ruin that would befall this country if it should march into the morass of silver monometallism. Even the most reckless of the silver advocates have not dared to deny that such a result would be unmixed evil. The leaders who are bearing the banner inscribed with all these strange devices have assembled under its folds—as motley a horde as that which Jenghis Khan led down to invade and destroy the vineyards and wheat fields of the then Western world. I do not say that they are all socialists and cranks, and repudiators, and enemies of public order; but I do say that all of these classes of persons are fighting on that side of the field.

One glance, fellow-citizens, at that fell array, and there sounds a bugle call in the ear of every man who loves his country to draw his sword and smite, and smite, and smite once again, until these black legions are scattered to the four winds of heaven. [Applause.]

Appendix B.

List of Delegates.

ALABAMA.

Delegates-at-Large.—Thomas G. Jones, James Weatherly, J. M. Falkner, S. H. Dent. Alternates-at-Large.—R. E. Pettus, J. Lamont Morgan, George A. Searcy, B. D. Armstrong.

First District Delegates.—H. A. Forcheimer, A. C. Danner. Alternates.—L. C. Dorgan, Paul E. Rapier.

Second District Delegates.—F. P. Glass, C. D. Henderson. Alternates.—J. O. Sentell, Charles Henderson.

Third District Delegates.—R. M. Lee, S. J. Foster. Alternates.—O. D. Killebrew, Ben Jennings.

Fourth District Delegates.—W. J. Alexander, Charles Sparks. Alternates.—J. W. Gasser, H. W. Caffey.

Fifth District Delegates.—C. S. G. Doster, W. F. Foster. Alternates.—J. H. Baxley, Dr. C. Marlette.

Sixth District Delegates.—J. H. Fitts, H. W. Long. Alternates.—G. M. Edgar, W. B. Peebles.

Seventh District Delegates.—E. T. Hollingsworth, George H. Parker. Alternates.—R. H. Casey, G. A. Prinz.

Eighth District Delegates.—John C. Eyster, R. W. Miller. Alternates.—R. C. Gunter, J. O. Ewin.

Ninth District Delegates.—L. J. Lawson, W. W. Crawford. Alternates.—M. Weil, J. L. Welch.

ARKANSAS.

Delegates-at-Large.—S. W. Fordyce, John M. Moore, W. J. Stowers, C. B. Moore, J. A. Reeves, Thomas B. Fulton, Andrew Nunn, Lev. Fowler, S. T. Mallory, H. King White, J. B. Trulock, John M. Taylor, Charles F. Penzel, George F. Rozell, Max Coffin, W. H. Wright.

Alternate Delegates.—George B. Rose, W. C. Ratcliffe, J. B. McDonough, B. F. Atkinson, J. R. Tolbert, C. D. Gee, D. V. Snow, John W. Goodwin, C. H. Purvis, L. P. Peyton, J. T. Jelks, C. H. Blank, C. A. Bloom, R. H. Parham, W. D. Hearn, J. E. Bradley.

CALIFORNIA.

Delegates.—Cassius Carter, John Roth, James H. O'Brien, Thomas B. Bord, Warren Olney, John Stanley, Clay M. Taylor, F. S. Lippett, Nathaniel Harris, Jerry Lynch, John P. Irish, William Thomas, E. S. Heller.

CONNECTICUT.

Delegates.—Thomas M. Waller, Lewis Sperry, George M. Gunn, Zolmon Goodsell, Robert J. Vance, J. A. Sperry, H. Holton Wood, Charles A. Elliott, David A. Wells, Charles Canfield, Alexander Wildman, George M. Woodruff.

COLORADO.

Delegate-at-Large.—Louis R. Ehrich.

DELAWARE.

Delegates.—Ex-Governor Charles C. Stockley, John S. Rassell, L. A. Bertolette, William M. Ross, J. Parke Postles.

FLORIDA.

Delegates.—E. G. Hill, W. S. Keyser, R. A. Monsalvatge, D. G. Ambler, T. A. Darby, E. W. Coddington, John E. Hartridge, W. A. Niblack, Arthur Meigs, H. F. Sharon, J. B. Wall, Ziba King, H. H. Buckman, A. Y. Hampton, W. L. Ainsley, W. S. Prosky.

Alternates.—Henry G. Sird, E. J. L'Engle, R. E. Davis, M. W. Looell, John L. Ingles, W. S. Ware.

GEORGIA.

Delegates.—G. V. Gress, W. S. Thompson, R. F. Maddox, T. F. Corrigan, W. A. Russell, W. A. Matthews, G. R. Desaussure, Joseph Jacobs, George W. Johnson, D. N. Hudson.

ILLINOIS.

Delegates-at-Large.—John M. Palmer, John C. Black, William S. Forman, John P. Hopkins, Ben T. Cable, H. S. Robbins, C. A. Ewing, Roger C. Sullivan.

Alternates-at-Large.—Robert E. Hamill, F. J. Dvorak, Henry Raab, W. S. Wilson, Ben Warner, Jr., E. Phelphs, William Steinwiddle, Charles Dunham.

District Delegates.—Thomas Moran, Adams A. Goodrich, Morton Kinball, W. E. W. Johnson, John Krebs, A. H. Cohen, J. J. Coughlin, L. W. Winchester, James J. Townsend, Adolph Kraus, Franklin MacVeagh, Francis S. Peabody, William Legner, Joseph H. Fitch, W. H. Hintze, Clinton Rosetti, David Sheean, Joseph G. Hettinger, Charles Dunham, Paul Kersch, James H. Eckles, C. A. Palmer, Herman Snow, E. R. E. Kibrough, Thomas Bunn, J. N. Trevett, H. M. Pindell, E. A. Wallace, C. H. Williamson, Q. C. Ward, E. J. Vaughn, Charles G. Heinz, J. S. Smith, James T. Hoblitt, S. W. Molton, George L. Zink, D. I. Lillard, Charles S. Wiley, John L. Black, John R. Holk, G. A. Koerner, W. K. Murphy, Henry G. Carter, J. S. Reardon.

District Alternates.—D. M. Pfaelzer, George A. Neeb, Henry P. Carmody, H. C. Hansen, Henry Goldstein, H. B. Coffman, T. F. Judge, Henry T. Pitz, John Dowdle, J. B. Murray, W. A. Vincent, J. S. Cooper, S. S. Brewer, J. M. Reardon, W. J. Truitte, W. H. Doe, W. H. Sizer, Jr., Roderick Chisholm, H. B. Wilkinson, W. B. Blish, A. W. Cowen, B. M. Stoddard, D. A. Orebaugh, Jerry Reilly, H. O. Gaston, Samuel Day, Garret Dailey, B. F. Forest, Irwin A. Ewing, W. H. Govert, W. R. Routt, E. J. Frost, Charles Nusbaum, J. G. Colgrove, Carl Deichman, O. B. Love, R. B. Miller, O. B. Sullivan, A. F. Calvin, Charles Carroll, E. C. Ryden, M. M. Stevens, C. B. Cole, J. F. Connell, A. J. Miller.

INDIANA.

Delegates-at-Large.—George Ford, John C. Robinson, Benjamin F. Kobbe, Daniel F. Noyes.

District Delegates.—August Brentano, Clarence Hinkle, Dr. J. A. Minnich, Charles Bierhaus, Dr. L. Dowless, C. S. Foster, Dr. S. M. Ford, William W. Mooney, P. J. Morgan, E. R. Hamilton, E. H.

Fout, J. R. McCabe, Allen W. Conduitt, Henry Russe, S. W. Edmunds, George Grimes, J. S. Nave, J. W. Jordan, Emery B. Sellers, E. H. Scott, Harry W. Strouse, M. B. Smith, E. H. McDonald, C. A. O. McClellan, J. G. Orr, Daniel Agnew.

District Alternates.—G. W. Harris, Dr. C. Hicks, Francis H. Freeland, James C. Corbin, C. S. Ferguson, Max Abraham, F. A. Skelton, F. S. Moore, L. E. Emmons, H. C. Morrison, Al Harston, Austin H. Brown, Harry B. Smith, M. M. Winnans, B. F. Wheeler, Dr. Gott, N. C. Harris, Thomas Wood, C. L. Thomas, George A. Southall, P. S. O'Rourke, S. M. Foster, J. T. Hey, B. D. Salisbury.

IOWA.

Delegates-at-Large.—Col. L. M. Martin, William Gronewig, W. I. Babb, Col. Joseph Eiboeck, John Cliggitt, Joel Stewart, M. B. Hendrick, W. F. Mitchell.

Delegates.—Henry Vollmer, Samuel Cohn, John Walbank, John N. Morton, Robert Bonson, M. Ricker, J. H. McConlogue, M. B. Hendrick, Martin Mee, H. M. Carpenter, W. R. Hollingsworth, F. M. Hunter, S. J. Gilpin, Joel Wilmer, H. S. Mallory, J. M. Hammond, W. J. Burke, Charles F. Chase, T. M. Mitchell, J. J. Russell, John C. Keeley, M. Snyder, S. G. Sloan.

Alternates.—Thomas Stivers, George Shaffer, S. A. Swisher, G. L. Johnson, T. F. Kenyon, Henry Schultz, Sam G. Sloane, W. A. Hoyt, E. F. Jockheck, John B. Murdough, L. L. Hull, R. T. Shea, T. R. North, H. P. Shepherd, J. B. Hornor, R. C. Chamberlain, J. H. Halbert, George M. Marshall, B. F. Dickey, Theodore Churchillis, P. K. Halbrook, W. P. Van Osterhaut.

KANSAS.

Delegates-at-Large.—Thomas P. Fenlon, Samuel Kimble, W. E. Garver, W. H. Rossington, C. F. Hutchins, C. Boyd.

Alternates-at-Large.—S. F. Reynolds, W. Hodson, N. A. Voss, John V. Brinkman, W. I. Joseph, John A. Sheldon.

District Delegates.—Edward Carroll, R. L. Pease, John D. Cruise, C. E. Hulett, Howard Ross, A. W. Jones, C. J. Lantry, J. H. Sparks, S. W. Angler, Grover Walker, P. I. Lancaster, C. C. Van Deventer, J. W. Long.

District Alternates.— —— McPike, —— Shield, George Horseman, Robert Edmundson, P. H. Albright, B. F. Pankey, D. H. Brown, J. S. Alspaugh, Harry C. Tobey. George S. Byrey, Thomas F. Poole, William Osmond, J. W. Russell.

KENTUCKY.

Delegates-at-Large.—General S. B. Buckner, A. J. Carroll, W. C. P. Breckenridge, Wilbur F. Browder.

Alternates-at-Large.—William G. Welch, Cromwell Adair, R. T. Tyler, J. H. Northup.

District Delegates.—F. M. Clemens, H. Buchanan, John F. Lockett, Robert Craig, C. W. Milligan, J. C. Johnson, W. J. Dean, Jr., W. A. Watkins, George M. Davie, J. M. Atherton, W. H. Mackoi, W. F. Peake, Thomas H. Hines, Prof. Yeager, W. W. Stephenson, L. C. Willis, J. H. Pierce, W. S. Montgomery, J. T. Sayles, Rodney Haggard, O. H. Waddell, J. R. Sampson.

LOUISIANA.

Delegates-at-Large.—Senator Donelson Caffery, General T. Marshall Miller, Edgar H. Farrar, M. R. Spelman.

Alternates-at-Large.—Charles F. Claiborne, William Gowland, Stanley O'Thomas, Newton Buckner.

District Delegates.—Louis P. Bryant, Thomas E. Davis, Charles Janvier, Leigh Carroll, William T. Miles, Thomas J. Shaffer, E. H. Randolph, A. Goodwell, O. C. Dawkins, G. McD. Brumby, W. J. Kerman, J. B. McGeehee.

District Alternates.—Eugene Mestier, J. M. Walkins, F. L. Richardson, Charles H. Scheneck, Wilson McKerrall, Senator Hampton, S. B. Hicks, C. W. Blaix, Fergus Kernan, J. L. James.

MAINE.

Delegates.—C. Vey Holman, William Henry Clifford, H. G. Foss, Russell D. Woodman, Edward C. Jordan, John Harwood, R. E. Hersom, George H. Weeks, Josiah Chase, William H. Gardiner, Giles O. Bailey.

Alternates.—F. W. S. Blanchard, John H. Belcher, R. H. Nutt, J. S. True, William H. Stevens, G. S. H. McDowell, S. G. Otais, August F. Molton, J. F. Gerrity, Byon Wilson, Nathan Clifford.

MARYLAND.

Delegates.—Edward Lloyd, William C. Bruce, Francis Yewell, Charles W. Micheal, J. A. C. Bond, Ogdon A. Kirkland, Daniel Miller, Leigh Bonsal, Philip D. Laird, Daniel M. Murray, George Mohr, William H. Adkins, Francis T. Homer, Alexander Armstrong, Henry M. Walker.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Delegates.—Charles S. Bird, Sigourney Butler, Charles A. Conmant, James E. Potter, Thomas B. Potter, Charles S. Davis, John J. Desmond, William L. Douglas, James E. Estabrook, William Everett, Thomas J. Gargan, William T. Jenny, George T. Keys, Henry W. Lamb, John C. Lane, Henry B. Little, Leander Sprague, George T. McLaughlin, Marcus C. Merritt, Godfrey Morse, William R. Plunkett, Daniel L. Prendergast, Charles T. Ralston, William B. Rice, Charles G. Saunders, Charles C. Spellman, Ebben Stevens, Joseph L. Sweet, Charles Warren, Frank H. Zabriskie.

MICHIGAN.

Delegates-at-Large.—S. T. Douglass, John S. Lawrence, S. T. Kilbourne, Thomas A. Wilson.

Alternates-at-Large.—Collins B. Hubbard, George W. Thayer, Isaac Lederer, J. A. Parkinson.

District Delegates.—George H. Barbour, E. F. Connelly, David Zimmerman, Clarence H. Bennett, F. M. Thompson, J. S. Upton, H. C. Rockwell, J. A. Simins, Vernon H. Smith, J. D. Hood, L. E. Rowley, C. E. Wheeler, H. B. Buckeridge, G. D. Crocker, Albert Todd, D. E. Skinner, L. N. Keating, William Heap, Rufus F. Sprague, Duncan K. Black, A. B. Eldridge, George W. Hayden.

District Alternates.—George H. Russell, Michael Brennan, Victor C. Vaughn, W. S. Todd, John M. Corbin, H. Barlow, G. N. Hale, J. H. Perkins, W. H. Hyde, W. H. Loutit, Isaac W. Busch,

J. A. Myers, John Herr, Robert F. Eldridge, E. P. Gilbert, H. K. White, William Mann, William Wilson, R. C. Fuller, W. H. Wells.

MINNESOTA.

Delegates-at-Large.—D. W. Lawler, E. T. Wilder, P. B. Gorman, John Ludwig.

District Delegates.—H. R. Wells, H. W. Lamberton, Dr. J. S. Hillscher, C. W. Schultz, J. C. Pierce, T. H. Quinn, F. W. M. Cutcheon, J. J. Parker, B. F. Nelson, J. B. Atwater, S. F. White, B. W. How, T. C. Kurtz, L. Pearce.

MISSISSIPPI.

Delegate-at-Large.—H. M. Street.

MISSOURI.

Delegates-at-Large.—James O. Broadhead, Frederick W. Lehmann, George Robertson, Stephen C. Woodson.

Alternates-at-Large.—John Cosgrove, Rufus E. Anderson, William Shelton, Christopher C. Williams.

District Delegates.—W. B. Humrich, C. H. Marmaduke, W. T. Austin, J. W. Sebree, E. I. Morse, G. W. Schweich, Willard P. Hall, William L. Smith, Francis M. Black, Alexander Graves, John G. Dorman, William P. Coleman, Philip H. Rea, Benjamin U. Massey, Albert W. Florea, George C. Ramsey, G. Pitman Smith, Edward C. Kennan, Edward C. Kehr, Thomas K. Skinker, Samuel M. Kennard, William C. Jones, Rolla Wells, C. H. Krum, Peter Barriclow, Otto Kochtitzky, John G. Wear, Oliver H. P. Catron, William M. Carter, Samuel Henderson.

District Alternates.—P. P. Croakin, L. Price, D. H. Mounce, J. M. Johnson, Claud Hardwick, G. E. McCoy, I. R. Williams, H. A. Coster, Robert Keith, J. L. Scruggs, B. F. Hargis, W. F. Houston, Dr. James Gardner, R. B. Coples, W. G. Pendleton, P. G. Woods, E. H. Moody, Morris Ettinger, George W. Taussig, George S. Weldon, William Freudman, B. H. Charles, R. Graham Frost, G. J. Tansey, L. S. Joseph, J. H. Sutton, George Sidway, James Robertson.

MONTANA.

Delegates.—James T. Sanford, Charles E. Duer, John S. M. Neill, William McDermott, C. C. Cochran, Charles Conrad, A. H. Nelson.

NEBRASKA.

Delegates-at-Large.—Euclid Martin, S. G. Glover, G. M. Baer, J. C. Crawford.

First District.—D. P. Rolfe, Albert Watkins.

Second District.—Carroll S. Montgomery, A. E. Thatcher.

Third District.—Fred W. Vaughan, Major R. R. MacMullen.

Fourth District.—G. P. Marvin, F. E. White.

Fifth District.—J. I. Rhea, R. S. Proudfit.

Sixth District.—J. I. Lease, J. F. Crocker.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Delegates-at-Large.—Gordon Woodbury, George B. Chandler, Josiah Carpenter, Francis M. Hoyt.

First District.—John Dowst, E. F. McQuesten, by his proxy, Wendell Baker.

Second District.—Clarence E. Carr, Albert S. Batchellor.

NEW JERSEY.

Delegates-at-Large.—William J. Curtis, George L. Record, James Parker, Charlton T. Lewis.

First District.—Thomas P. Curley, John W. Acton.

Second District.—Wallace Lippincott, Dr. Joseph B. Shaw.

Third District.—William Stother Jones, Stephen G. Williams.

Fourth District.—Samuel T. Smith, Charles Rittenhouse.

Fifth District.—Anderson Price, W. W. Concklin.

Sixth District—Dr. Leonard J. Gordon, Otto Crouse.

Seventh District.—Eugene Vanderpool, John B. Oelkers.

Eighth District.—John B. Green, R. F. Stevens.

NEW YORK.

Delegates-at-Large.—Ex-Governor Roswell P. Flower, Ex-Congressman Charles Tracey, George McGee, Edward M. Shepard.

District Delegates.—C. S. Andrews, Franklin Pierce, W. C. Benton, N. Biddle, W. N. Bennett, W. A. Beach, A. S. Bendall, J. C. Blandy, N. R. Bayne, P. Clarke, Eden Carroll, C. Bissell, E. J. Demphy, E. M. Dugg, C. J. Edward, J. W. Eaten, A. J. Elkins, J. R. Ely, A. Farwell, G. W. Greene, E. Greene, J. W. Greene, E. M. Hill, C. D. Hayen, R. T. Hedley, E. M. Hutchinson, C. T. Hoagland, N. C. King, J. D. Keeley, E. S. Kaufman, J. J. Kohnstain, B. Lansing, W. E. Leffingwell, H. A. Metz, T. W. Meacham, C. R. Miller, F. L. Marshall, John McDonald, Edwin McCue, F. S. Nye, E. W. Page, T. M. Osborne, J. V. Phillip, George Foster Peabody, John B. Pate, R. I. Peelestrean, Charles Roe, W. C. Redfield, W. N. Rand, Jr., John Ransom, John Sherdt, J. N. Sherdt, J. J. Stanton, O. S. Strauss, George Smith, D. W. Seeley, Theodore Setro, J. S. Van Wyck, J. D. Van Buren, R. A. Wildenman, J. N. Watson, S. S. Wakeman, John Dewitt Warner, Fred Well, Henry George, B. A. Hitchcock, Fulton McMahon.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Delegates.—J. A. Sugg, C. J. O'Hagan, W. J. Pitts, W. W. Clark, Charles Rugenstein, W. E. Ashley, W. J. Crutchfield, Sol N. Cone, F. M. Morris, A. E. Stevens, T. Witt Kowsky, J. T. Brittin, H. E. Fries, Linsay Patterson, J. C. Tipton, Lawrence Wakefield, Edwin Sully, Silas McBee, W. C. Damion, William Calder, V. C. Redwine, Lewis De Lacroix.

Alternates.—J. W. Dewy, James Redman, Samuel Brenson, Charles McRae, George A. Fritz, Ogdon E. Edward, C. U. Fogale, P. E. Page, H. T. Balinson, R. L. Vernon, J. J. Osburn, J. S. Spencer, Judea Hilliard, E. H. Fulenwiter, George F. Bayson, R. S. Rynheart, Peterson Thorp, Jr., T. R. Little, W. P. Bell, J. C. Dodson, J. W. Norwood, J. H. McQueen.

NORTH DAKOTA.

Delegates.—F. R. Fulton, H. L. Whithead, P. C. Cranshaw, R. B. Blakemore, D. C. Moore, R. A. Shattuck.

OHIO.

Delegates-at-Large.—Joseph H. Outhwaite, George E. Seney, William E. Haynes, Michael Ryan. Alternates-at-Large.—William Handy, Herman Mueller, William J. Colburn, Moses R. Dickey.

First District Delegates.—Daniel Wilson, Max B. May. Alternates.—C. M. Thompson, F. F. Oldham.

Second District Delegates.—F. M. Gorman, Gustavus H. Wald. Alternates.—D. F. Cash, C. M. Hepburn.

Third District Delegates.—J. J. McMaken, Henry C. Marshall. Alternate.—George H. Wood.

Fourth District Delegate.—Dr. William Hall.

Fifth District Delegates.—J. J. Moore, S. M. Heller. Alternates.—E. Lattanner, George H. Marsh.

Sixth District Delegate.—C. C. Johnson. Alternate.—W. Veardorf.

Seventh District Delegates.—S. L. Nelson, Philip Speasmaker. Alternates.—George J. McMullen, William H. Hughes.

Eighth District Delegates.—Frank Chance, E. E. Neff. Alternates.—Phillip Wilch, W. T. Haviland.

Ninth District Delegates.—C. S. Ashley, M. S. Sargent. Alternates.—T. W. Childs, C. Rosse.

Tenth District Delegates.—H. F. Thompson, David Armstrong. Alternates.—J. R. Hughes, Otto A. Layher.

Eleventh District Delegates.—P. A. Gordon, J. W. Lash. Alternates.—Archibald Mayo, G. M. Crawford.

Twelfth District Delegates.—W. W. Medary, William F. Kemmler. Alternates.—Emil Kiesewetter, S. P. Bush.

Thirteenth District Delegates.—Thomas Beer, Theodore Alvord. Alternates.—Robert Dunn, William E. Schofield.

Fourteenth District Delegates.—John D. DeGolley, E. J. Grosscup. Alternates.—T. E. Myers, R. Smith.

Fifteenth District Delegates.—S. J. McMahon, Daniel A. Buell. Alternates.—Frank McDermott, Charles Lanenburg.

Sixteenth District Delegates.—James O. Dixon, J. M. Schreiber. Alternates.—Henry Arnold, C. W. Crumley.

Seventeenth District Delegates.—William Ward, W. H. Johnson. Alternates.—J. J. Strome, John A. Buchanan.

Eighteenth District Delegates.—John H. Clark, Johnson Sherrick. Alternates.—J. R. White, W. A. Lynch.

Nineteenth District Delegates.—Henry Apthorpe, E. E. Nash. Alternates.—Clarence Richardson, Charles Coolman.

Twentieth District Delegates.—H. D. Coffin, John A. Zangerle. Alternates.—E. D. Burton, Hans Krause.

Twenty-first District Delegates.—Virgil P. Kline, S. H. Holding. Alternates.—John H. Hogan, C. L. Holtze.

OREGON.

Delegates-at-Large.—C. E. S. Wood, W. M. Whidden, J. H. Albert, E. G. Caufield. Alternates-at-Large.—J. Walton, M. M. Walker, W. J. Furnish, J. T. Peters.

First District Delegates.—J. W. Bennett, E. R. Skipworth. Alternates.—Dr. F. M. Robinson, Claude Thayer.

Second District Delegates.—Zera Snow, L. L. McArthur. Alternates.—T. M. Baldwin, James Lovitt.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Delegates-at-Large.—John C. Bullitt, William M. Singerly, B. J. McGrann, John M. Reynolds, George F. Baer, Fred Dwinner, Seth Forsman, R. Bruce Ricketts.

District Delegates.—Joseph Morwitz, Samuel Dickson, Addison B. Burke, John Cadwalder, William F. McCully, Simon J. Martin, Emanuel Furth, Dwight M. Lowrey, William Findlay Brown, Walter George Smith, Murray Ruch, George H. Earle, Jr., William Drayton, Samuel R. Cramer, Alfred E. Lewis, A. J. Durling, Edwin H. Stine, Isaac Hiester, William B. Given, Richard M. Reilly, John B. Reynolds, S. B. Bennett, Charles F. King, W. A. Torbett, Henry McCormick, Casper Dull, Grant W. Lane, William Little, Hon. S. R. Peale, Seth T. McCormick, John H. Goeser, C. Murray, J. E. Rupert, G. W. Foote, W. P. Lloyd, G. P. Smyser, Frank F. Robb, W. P. Schell, James McF. Carpenter, S. C. McCandless, J. J. Brooks, Hay Walker, R. E. Unbrell, Joseph Kuntz, Jr., John H.

Bliss, Pearson Church, G. P. Shafer, J. D. Hancock, E. L. Orvis, J. L. Brown.

RHODE ISLAND.

Delegates.—Arnold Green, Charles C. Nichols, Charles H. Page, William C. Baker, James J. Van Alen, Gardiner C. Simms, Edmund Walker, Albert L. Andrews.

Alternates.—John P. Reynolds, W. L. Whipple, S. O. Metcalf, Benjamin W. Case, Samuel H. Bullock, John M. Shivley, Joseph C. Church, Charles C. Mumford.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Delegates.—George M. Trenholm, Wilmot D. Porcher, R. Allan Tucker, Frank Q. O'Neill, W. W. Ball, Frank Evans.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Delegates.—Joseph Zitka, John B. Hanten, William Irwin, L. W. Crowfoot, B. B. Moss, W. F. Ryther, Fred Stevens, Thomas H. Campbell.

TENNESSEE.

Delegates-at-Large.—George W. Ochs, Edmund Cooper, John F. House, S. R. Latta.

Alternates-at-Large.—W. L. Frierson, C. F. Ordway, Theodore Cooley. C. W. Heiskell.

District Delegates.—Tully R. Cornick, H. E. Fox, H. O. Ewing, J. Q. Sutton, J. H. Holman, W. R. Webb, W. C. Dibrell, Mike Savage, W. S. Draper, Blair Pirson, A. S. Caldwell, Peyton J. Smith, W. H. O'Keefe, A. H. Tipton, J. C. Wooten, J. A. Cunningham, O. C. Barton, N. D. Wiggins.

District Alternates.—J. M. Hicks, J. H. Llewellyn, H. H. Matlock, W. J. Slatter, H. P. Keeble, J. B. Frierson, J. B. Keeble, J. H. Fall, Henry C. Myers, Leopold Lebmann, Hon. George J. Smith, George T. Wofford, W. J. Smith, R. L. McKimey, W. P. Wrather, T. J. Sragins.

TEXAS.

Delegates-at-Large.—George Clark, D. C. Giddings, M. L. Crawford, A. W. Fly. Alternates-at-Large.—T. H. Franklin, E. S. Connor, J. P. Smith, W. G. Boyd.

First District Delegates.—Jerry McDaniel, J. M. Cotton. Alternates.—J. F. Meyer, J. J. Dodson.

Second District Delegates.—J. J. Wood, A. M. Rice. Alternates.—R. A. Barrett, E. J. Mantooth.

Third District Delegates.—T. O. Woldert, James H. Jones. Alternates.—W. B. Teagarden, L. Davidson.

Fourth District Delegates.—W. T. Hudgins, W. F. Skillman. Alternates.—R. W. Rodgers, L. T. Russell.

Fifth District Delegates.—J. M. Lindsay, T. W. Stratton. Alternates.—W. O. Davis, T. E. Shirley.

Sixth District Delegates.—W. W. Leake, J. T. Trezevant. Alternates.—W. T. Ballew, J. W. Springer.

Seventh District Delegates.—W. T. Helfley, A. E. Watson. Alternates.—Bart Moore, W. T. Davidson.

Eighth District Delegates.—Sidney L. Samuels, W. H. Lassiter. Alternates.—R. E. Bell, Luther Boaz.

Ninth District Delegates.—George T. McGee, Peyton Brown. Alternates.—W. G. Messner, M. C. Rodgers.

Tenth District Delegates.—M. E. Kleberg, T. J. Ballinger. Alternates.—M. F. Mott, M. Lasker.

Eleventh District Delegates.—Grant R. Bennett, T. D. Wood. Alternates.—A. C. Jones, F. H. Burweister.

Twelfth District Delegates.—William Antony, S. D. Scudder. Alternates.—J. C. Carr, Edwin Chamberlain.

Thirteenth District Delegates.—S. W. Eastern, Martin Hill. Alternates.—Charles Davis, Walter Stewart.

VERMONT.

Delegates.—W. H. Creamer, T. W. Gordon, Wells Valentine, A. E. Child, Henry Jillette, Elisha May, E. F. Brooks, P. M. Melton.

VIRGINIA.

Delegates-at-Large.—Joseph Bryan, S. V. Southall, James Bumgardner, Jr., E. C. Venable.

Delegates.—Thomas M. Scott, A. B. Chandler, Thomas Tabb, R. D. Doyle, Henry S. Hutzler, J. M. Leake, William L. Zimmer, T. J. Meredith, William R. Abbott, William V. Wilson, Col. A. L. Rives, Capt. H. Clay Michie, T. L. Cockrell, T. L. Waters, A. Fulkerson, G. J. Holbrook, J. H. Crozier, F. H. McCullock.

Alternates.—J. C. Justice, M. W. Beasley, G. Hatton, J. L. Street, Wyndham R. Meredith, N. B. Noland, R. P. Barham, Henry O'Neil, Harvey B. Stebbins, T. J. Phelps, C. M. Bolton, J. Triplett Haxall, H. P. Howard, L. Eichberg, F. B. Hurt, M. M. Morris, James P. Hawkins, Jr., R. D. Haislip.

WASHINGTON.

Delegates.—Hugh C. Wallace, L. W. Nestelle, E. W. Pollock, John L. Sharpstein, T. N. Allen, L. B. Nash, G. W. Stapleton, Thomas Burke.

Alternates.—C. F. Munday, W. W. Robertson, W. C. Sharpstein, Milan Still, Thomas B. Higgins, A. R. Zabriskie, J. Van Dyke, Lynde Palmer.

WEST VIRGINIA.

Delegates-at-Large.—Alfred Caldwell, M. W. Gamble, Joseph Ruffner, Henry C. Sims.

Alternates-at-Large.—J. M. Birch, John A. Robinson, J. L. Bowyer, J. F. Strother.

District Delegates.—Randolph Stalnaker, C. D. Wiedenhaimer, J. W. McSherry, R. C. Estep, L. J. Williams, U. B. Buskirk, R. H. Browse, J. W. Bates.

District Alternates.—E. S. Davidson, W. E. Hammond, H. W. Potts, N. S. D. Pendleton, D. O'Connell, R. S. Quarrier, T. L. Trimmer, J. W. Spotts.

WISCONSIN.

Delegates-at-Large.—Edward S. Bragg, William F. Vilas, James G. Flanders, James J. Hogan.

Alternates-at-Large.—S. N. Dickinson, John Johnston, John J. O'Brien, O. E. Wells.

District Delegates.—E. G. Hazleton, Joseph G. Kral, Burr W. Jones, D. Blumenfeld, George W. Dyer, N. H. Grow, William Bergenthal, C. F. Hunter, M. C. Mead, Dr. Henry Albers, O. A. Wells, H. P. Hamilton, Robert Lees, William Carson, John Brennan, M. C. Haney, H. T. Scudder, A. E. Beebe, R. J. Shields, W. F. McNally.

District Alternates.—John H. Savage, E. F. Donnelly, W. C. Leitsch, William A. Bierhaus, Joseph T. Evans, George T. Morris, Fordyce H. Bottom, George S. Bartlett, Julius Kroos, Theodore Thielges, T. F. Mayham, C. A. Engelbrecht, Ira A. Hill, John Marsh, John Ware, David Decker, M. Barry, Charles Chaffee, C. F. Tryon, D. Buchanan.

ALASKA.*

ARIZONA.*

NEW MEXICO.

Delegates.—J. W. Schofield, W. E. Dame, W. B. Childers.

Alternates.—John Lynch, James Boyce, Andrew Johnson.

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*Delegates were present from these Territories, but their credentials were not filed with the Secretary.